THE NEW EL DORADO:
BLACK LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA

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ABSTRACT

Donovan Augustus Anderson: The New El Dorado: Black Locational Attainment in the Post-Civil Rights Era
(Under the direction of Mai T. Nguyen)

This dissertation examines Black locational attainment in the post-Civil Rights era in three separate but related papers.

Paper 1: Black Migration to the South: Metropolitan Determinants of Black Primary and Return Migration, 1970-2010

This article addresses gaps in the Black migration literature using the IPUMS and Decennial Census to examine the effects of macro-level factors on Black primary and return migrations from the North to the South between 1970 and 2010. Specifically, the analysis seeks to explain the impact of metropolitan-level determinants on Black non-South to South migration. The regression models test three sets of variables that measure the metropolitan's economic context, racial and ethnic characteristics, and middle class presence. Three key findings emerge from the results. First, in comparing the subregional effect on Black and White primary migrants, this study finds that the South Atlantic states are more attractive to primary migrants than the Inner South states and Texas, but there were no regional differences for return migrants. Second, more new housing in southern metropolitan areas is a positive draw for Black and White primary migrants, but is not for return migrants and high metropolitan poverty is a universal deterrent for all migrant types. And third, the results confirm previous

findings that the migration to the South for Blacks, unlike Whites, cannot be characterized as a retirement-centered migration. In fact, for Blacks, this migration to the South may reflect a draw to living with successful in-group members, as there is some evidence that Blacks are significantly more likely to move to Southern metropolitan areas with a strong Black middle class presence, in contrast to their White counterparts.

Paper 2: The New El Dorado: Locational Attainment of Black Primary and Return Migrants to the South, 1970-2010

The South is the New El Dorado for Blacks in the post-Civil Rights era. Fifty-five percent of the total U.S. Black population resides in the South, Black-White residential segregation has continued to decline and the region has become more urbanized, thereby making the South a prime region for Black locational attainment. Relying on confidential Decennial Census 1970-2000 and the American Community Survey 2006-2010 data, this study tests the spatial assimilation and place-stratification models in explaining locational attainment of Black non-South migrants—primary and return migrants—who are moving from the non-South into the South. Black non-South migrants to the South relocate to higher quality neighborhoods than the average Black resident in the South, which is in contrast to Whites who experience no similar added benefits from migrating to the South. In line with the spatial assimilation model, individual socioeconomic status and the metropolitan PMT sector explain locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods for both White and Black migrants to the South. Yet, in support of the place-stratification perspective, racial residential segregation continues to act as a deterrent to Black access to middle-class neighborhoods while showing no effect for Whites. In regards to locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, the metropolitan size of the Black middle-class population along with individual socioeconomic indicators explain Black access into these neighborhoods. These findings support the minority culture of mobility model

that posits that Black middle-class neighborhoods, when available, are attractive to the Black middle class.

Paper 3: Black Locational Attainment into Black Middle-Class Neighborhoods in the Post-Civil Rights Era, 1970-2010

Using confidential Decennial Census 1970-2000 and American Community Survey 2006-2010 data, this research tests the spatial assimilation, place-stratification, and minority culture of mobility models to determine which model better explains the locational attainment of Blacks into Black middle-class neighborhoods. The study also compares the results of locational attainment for Blacks, as compared to Whites, living in metropolitan areas in the U.S. The present study makes three key findings. First, for Whites, there are distinct differences between locational attainment into White neighborhoods compared to White middle-class neighborhoods. White middle-class neighborhood as a more desirable neighborhood condition implies the necessary use of neighborhood indicators that intersect both race and class characteristics. Second, although individual socioeconomic status matters in locational attainment for both Black and White movers, metropolitan conditions better explain divergent locational attainment between the groups. Third, an increasing metropolitan Black middle-class is a strong determinant of Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods. This study finds that neither the spatial assimilation model nor the place-stratification perspective can explain locational attainment of Black movers into Black middle-class neighborhoods. In lieu of these theoretical frameworks, the minority culture of mobility model provides the best fitting explanation for movement into Black middle-class neighborhoods.

To God, first and foremost
To my family,
To everyone and to everything I lost in this process
But to sacrifices, you're owed nothing
Still, to future opportunity…

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INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

For Southern Blacks, the North was once considered the *Promised Land.* They fled their homes in the South after World Wars I and II to seek new opportunities and to escape racial oppression (Tolnay 2003). Now, in the post-Civil Rights era, the South has emerged as an *El Dorado* for an increasing number of Blacks who are choosing to migrate from the non-South to South and remain in the South. The El Dorado represents the new transformed Southern region, emblematic of burgeoning industries, metropolitan urbanization, and broadening racial and ethnic diversity (Frey 2004, 2006). Despite this visible and well-documented transformation (Frey 2004, 2006; MDC 2010), the South has been neglected as a region of importance for understanding Black quality of life during this period. Much of the neglect can be attributed to challenges that Blacks confronted in the non-South, including the ramifications of deindustrialization (Harrison and Bluestone 1982), the negative effects of White flight—central city to suburb movement (Krysan 2002), and the dire consequences of racial residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993). The public outcry over a Northern Promised Land that had failed its Black citizens just as the South did for the preceding generation has drawn attention away from Black quality of life in a transformed Southern region.

This study measures one aspect of realized opportunity for Blacks, locational attainment. More specifically, this study examines the ability of Black movers to translate their socioeconomic resources into access to quality neighborhoods. Scholars have generally relied on the theoretical frameworks of spatial assimilation and place stratification to understand individual access to quality neighborhoods or *locational attainment.* The spatial assimilation model

suggests that as Blacks' socioeconomic status increases, so does their ability to attain access to whiter, wealthier, and suburban neighborhoods of advantage (Alba and Logan 1991; 1993; Logan and Alba 1993). In contrast, the place stratification perspective warns that Blacks with higher socioeconomic status are less likely to attain access into better quality neighborhoods as a result of discrimination in the housing market (Zubrinsky 2003). However, both of these frameworks fall short in explaining locational attainment into quality neighborhoods as measured by alternative measures of quality rather than traditional measures. The spatial assimilation and place stratification models tend to present that the only pathway to success is whiter neighborhoods. Little is known about what explains Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods, in light of the growing Black middle-class in the U.S., and how similar or different that process is to Black access into whiter, wealthier, and suburban neighborhoods. The minority culture of mobility model, a recently constructed theoretical framework, provides the best conceptualization of Black middle-class neighborhoods as places of neighborhood advantage. This model argues that Blacks will translate socioeconomic resources into access to Black middle-class neighborhoods in order to circumvent the effects of individual and institutional racism (Neckerman et al 1999).

Initial data analyses revealed the Black non-South to South migration between 1970 and 2010 was supported by a growing Black middle-class presence in the South. Black primary and return migrants were both more likely to move to Southern metropolitan areas with a strong metropolitan Black college-educated population. These findings served as the basis of the first dissertation paper and prompted the construction of a Black middle-class neighborhood measure as an alternative measure for a neighborhood of advantage. If Black migrants are attracted to Southern metropolitan areas with a Black middle-class presence, then the larger question becomes: are these same Black non-South to South migrants seeking residence in Black

middle-class neighborhoods? Previous locational attainment studies, due to data limitations, have had to rely on pre-constructed Census measures to best proxy for quality neighborhoods (i.e. percentage White population). The percentage White population as a measure of neighborhood quality, although it captures the ability of minority groups to integrate into mainstream neighborhoods, it is unable to report the quality of those White residents as it relates to class. This study's use of confidential Census data has allowed for the construction of neighborhood measures that intersect race and class. And it is these race and class measures that drive the analysis of the second and third research papers of the dissertation.

The combined set of three dissertation research papers seek to explain the attraction of the El Dorado for Black non-South to South migrants, and what individual characteristics and metropolitan conditions explain locational attainment of these migrants in the region. Furthermore, they seek to understand what explains Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods in the U.S., and how that compares to Black locational attainment into White neighborhoods. The following section provides an overview of the three dissertation research papers. The background section that follows comprises a short discussion of *The Present-Day South*, *Locational Attainment*, and *The Black Middle Class*. Next is an overview of the theoretical frameworks used in this study including *the Spatial Assimilation Model*, *the Place-Stratification Perspective*, *the Minority Culture of Mobility Model*, and *Migration and Mobility Theory*. The final section of this introduction is the *Data and Methods* used for this research.

OVERVIEW OF THE THREE DISSERTATION RESEARCH PAPERS

First Paper: "Black Migration to the South: Metropolitan Determinants of Black Primary and Return Migration, 1970-2010"

This paper addresses gaps in the Black migration literature using the IPUMS and

Decennial Census to examine the effects of macro-level factors on Black primary and return migrations from the North to the South between 1970 and 2010. Specifically, the analysis seeks to explain the impact of metropolitan-level determinants on Black non-South to South migration. The regression models test three sets of variables that measure the metropolitan's economic context; race, ethnicity, and space; and middle class presence. This study asks, which metropolitan level characteristics best explain Black migration to the South? And, are there differences between Black primary and return migrants in the metropolitan characteristics that shape their migration? This paper lays the groundwork for the second paper.

Second Paper: "The New El Dorado: Locational Attainment of Black Primary and Return Migrants to the South, 1970-2010"

The South is the new El Dorado for Blacks in the post-Civil Rights era. Fifty-five percent of the total U.S. Black population resides in the South, Black-White residential segregation has continued to decline and the region has become more urbanized, thereby making the South a prime region of interest for Black locational attainment. Relying on confidential Decennial Census 1970-2000 and the American Community Survey 2006-2010 data, this study tests the spatial assimilation and place-stratification models in explaining locational attainment of Black non-South migrants—primary and return migrants—who are moving from the non-South into the South. Locational attainment is defined as the ability of individuals to translate socioeconomic resources into access to quality neighborhoods. This paper characterizes quality neighborhoods using middle-class and same-race middle-class measures. Specifically, this study asks whether or not Black non-South to South migrants are able to access high quality neighborhoods, and whether there are differences between primary and return migrants? Furthermore, what individual socioeconomic and metropolitan characteristics explain

Black migrants' access into quality neighborhoods in the post-Civil Rights era? The third and final paper builds on the second paper by honing in on Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods in the U.S. between 1970 and 2010.

Third Paper: "Black Locational Attainment into Black Middle-Class Neighborhoods in the Post-Civil Rights Era, 1970-2010"

Using confidential Decennial Census 1970-2000 and American Community Survey 2006-2010 data, this research tests the spatial assimilation, place-stratification, and minority culture of mobility models to determine which model better explains the locational attainment of Blacks into Black middle-class neighborhoods. This study asks, what individual socioeconomic and metropolitan factors explain Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods in the post-Civil Rights era? Do the same factors that explain locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods also explain locational attainment into White neighborhoods? This paper tests the minority culture of mobility model through a comparative examination of Black locational attainment into White neighborhoods and Black middle-class neighborhoods. It investigates the conditions in which Blacks seek access to Black middle-class neighborhoods.

Together, these three papers highlight the positive effect that the Black middle-class has had on Black locational attainment in the post-Civil Rights era.

BACKGROUND

This section provides a short description of the present-day South, locational attainment and the Black middle-class that are discussed in more detail across the three papers.

THE PRESENT-DAY SOUTH

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2011), as of 2010, there were approximately 42 million Black people living in the United States who comprise approximately 14% of the total U.S. population. The Black population grew at a rate of 15% between 2000 and 2010, which was faster than the national rate of growth at 10%. The total Black population in the South increased from 53.6% in 2000 to 55% in 2010. And, one in five persons living in the South in 2010 were African American. The Southern Black population proportion of 20% is compared to the following Black population proportions by region: 13% in the Northeast, 11% in the Midwest and 6% in the West. In 2010, the States with the highest proportion of Blacks in the U.S. are located in the South including Washington, DC (52%), Mississippi (38%), Louisiana (33%), Georgia (32%), Maryland (31%), South Carolina (29%), and Alabama (27%). The MDC reported that between 1987 and 2007 approximately 89 percent of job growth in the South occurred in its metropolitan areas (2011). And as of 2010, 75% of Southerners resided in metropolitan areas with the majority of its residents comprising young Blacks, Hispanics, and immigrant newcomers, while Whites represent 75% of the aging Southern population (MDC 2011). These facts illustrate that the South is not only transforming rapidly as a region, but has become a unique place of inquiry for understanding Black quality of life in the U.S.

LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The locational attainment approach remains important in understanding how individual members of society have been able to convert their individual socioeconomic resources into access to better neighborhoods. Generally, Blacks face difficulties converting their individual socioeconomic resources into residential attainment in whiter, wealthier, and suburban neighborhoods (Alba and Logan 1991; 1993; Crowder, South and Chavez 2006; Logan and Alba 1993). However, due to the South's unique disposition as it relates to the size of the Black

population, the availability of Black middle-class neighbors, its more accessible quality of life, and the overlap of poor rural areas and new suburban neighborhoods, traditional locational attainment indicators are not appropriate for Southern regional analysis. The present study relies on a conservative measure of the middle-class using a combination of factors including education, income and occupation. In this case, locational attainment is defined as a Black middle-class neighborhood in order to evidence if more affluent Blacks convert their individual resources into access to these alternative quality neighborhoods.

THE BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS

There have been a variety of definitions used to investigate the middle-class that have typically focused on at least one of the following: occupation, income, and education. As it relates to occupation, Landry distinguishes professionals, managers, and small business owners as the upper middle-class (1987). Lacy (2007) also makes a similar distinction between the Black upper or stable middle-class and the lower middle-class. However, she also includes in her definition college education, household income of a $100k, and homeownership. Oliver and Shapiro (1995) define the middle-class using white-collar jobs along with college education and income between $25k and $50k. Wilson (1978) uses a broader definition of middle-class capturing both white- and blue-collar workers. Generally, middle-class Blacks have been found to live in neighborhoods with a larger percentage of Whites; however, the White residents that middle-class Blacks live among have been found to be less affluent than those residing in middle-class White neighborhoods (Adelman 2004, 2005; Alba et al 2000; Friedman et al 2014).

This dissertation reports Black middle-class growth in the U.S. and South between 1970 and 2010. It also reports the top 10 Southern metropolitan areas for the Black middle class as measured by the Black college-educated population and the Black high-income population

between 1970 and 2010. Generally, most locational attainment measures have been unable to simultaneously capture both race and class characteristics due to the lack of available data at the individual-level. In this dissertation, I construct variables that capture the percentage of the middle-class and the same-race middle-class neighborhood population. The latter is specific in the test of the minority culture of mobility model. This middle-class measure moves beyond previously used locational attainment indicators, and its innovation is the result of access to individual-level Census micro-data at the tract-level. To my knowledge, the Black middle-class neighborhood has yet to be examined as a measure of neighborhood advantage for Blacks.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The following section provides a broad overview of the theories that are described across the three dissertation papers including the spatial assimilation model, the place stratification perspective, the minority culture of mobility model, and migration and mobility theory. All the theoretical frameworks help to explain locational attainment of all groups of interest—Black and White non-South to South migrants, and Black and White movers.

SPATIAL ASSIMILATION MODEL

The spatial assimilation model provides explanation for the relationship between individual resources and residential outcomes (Park 1925; Guest 1980; Alba and Logan 1991; Massey 1985). It contends that as an individual's socioeconomic resources—education, income (Alba and Logan 1991, 1993; Woldoff 2008), wealth (Crowder et al 2006, Woldoff 2008), and cultural assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993) increases, so will one's access to better neighborhoods. Thus, higher socioeconomic status will lead to residence into better quality neighborhoods. The spatial assimilation model contends that socioeconomic status is the most important predictor of locational attainment in lieu of racial characteristics.

PLACE STRATIFICATION PERSPECTIVE

The place-stratification model considers inequity in the housing market (Yinger 1995; Massey and Denton 1993), and generally posits that Blacks of increasing socioeconomic status will not be able to access neighborhoods that are comparable to Whites (Alba and Logan 1991). The strong version of the place stratification model states that returns on human capital for Blacks do not translate into quality neighborhood outcomes comparable to Whites. The weak version of the model states that even when human capital does translate into higher quality neighborhood outcomes for Blacks, these neighborhoods are of lesser quality for Blacks than for their majority counterparts (Logan and Alba 1993). The place-stratification perspective contends that racial characteristics determine locational attainment despite socioeconomic status.

MINORITY CULTURE OF MOBILITY MODEL

The minority culture of mobility (MCM) model suggests that in response to the effects of individual and institutional racism, minorities with socioeconomic resources will seek residence in Black middle-class neighborhoods (Neckerman et al 1999). Bayer and colleagues (2005) suggest that more wealthy Black enclaves will materialize as the size of an affluent Black population increases. Thus, one might also expect higher socioeconomic Blacks to select to move into majority Black middle-class neighborhoods when a Black middle-class population is present. The MCM model supports the use of the Black middle-class neighborhood as a neighborhood of advantage, not readily supported by either the spatial assimilation model or place-stratification model. It also contends that Blacks will translate socioeconomic resources into locational attainment into this specific neighborhood type.

MIGRATION AND MOBILITY THEORY

Lee (1966) summarizes Ravenstein's law of migration stating that pull and push effects are the two types of effects that cause mobility. Mobility under a pull effect refers to the attraction of the place of destination, while mobility under a push effect refers to the challenges that occur at the place of origin. Blacks moving across longer distances should be better equipped to access quality neighborhoods if their long distance migration can be characterized by pull instead of push factors (Lee 1966). The former implies that migrants seeking opportunities at their destination, regardless of their point of origin experience, place them at an advantage to succeed. In contrast, the latter suggests that migrants fleeing challenges at their point of origin may be at a disadvantage at their destination.

DATA AND METHODS

This section describes the data and methods used for the dissertation. The first paper draws on two sources of data, including the Integrated Public-Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) between 1980 and 2010 and the Decennial Census Data between 1970 and 2000. The IPUMS provides a rich source of publicly available individual-level census data and can be used to study migration patterns of U.S. residents. The IPUMS data is specifically used to capture the size of the non-South to South migrant population across Southern MAs. The Decennial Census Data is used to characterize Southern MAs before the migrant event. This paper focuses on Black and White non-South to the South migrants characterized as two types. The first type represents return migrants—individuals that moved from the non-South but who were also born in the South. The second type represents primary migrants—individuals that moved from the non-South but were not born in the South. The first dependent variable measures the size of Southern metropolitan return migrant population, while the second dependent variable measures the size of the Southern primary migrant population. The independent variables for

this study fall under the *metropolitan economic context*; *race, ethnicity, and space;* and *middle-class presence* in addition to a set of metropolitan control variables.

As for analytical strategy, the first paper pools all years of interest into one data set and uses random effects regression to explain the ability of Southern MAs to attract and retain residents between 1970 and 2010. The random effects model is specifically useful in providing generalized inferences for the study's migrant populations within and between Southern MAs. Thus, under this model, the study will be able to make inferences for each of the distinct migrant groups while controlling for differences between the MAs in which they are located.

The second and third papers draw on multiple sources of data, including confidential Decennial Census and American Community Survey microdata. The confidential Census micro-data is a rich source of information that provides individual-level data at the census-tract level comprising between 4,000-8,000 residents. The resource is similar to the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) that provides individual-level information at the PUMA level whose boundaries include approximately 100,000 residents. The data was structured to link individual socioeconomic and sociodemographic indicators to respective neighborhoods and those neighborhoods within metropolitan areas. The census tract is used to proxy for the neighborhood due to its widespread use in the locational attainment literature (e.g., Pais et al 2012), and is preferred in maximizing the richness of the Census microdata. Access to data resources that provide individual-level information at the neighborhood-level has proven difficult in the study of locational attainment (Alba and Logan 1992) making its use in the present study a valuable addition to the literature. The primary difference between the second and third papers is the groups of interest. The second paper includes only Black and White primary and return migrants residing in Southern metropolitan areas. As well, the dependent

variables of focus are the percentage middle-class neighborhood population and the same-race middle-class neighborhood population. In contrast, the third paper includes Black and White movers across all U.S. metropolitan areas. The dependent variables include the percentage White and same-race middle-class neighborhood populations.

As for analytical strategy, the second and third papers use hierarchical linear models (HLM) using random effects regression for each decennial decade between 1970 and 2010 to capture the effects of individual and metropolitan-level characteristics on locational attainment for Black and White non-South migrants to the South (paper 2) and for Black and White movers in the U.S. (paper 3). The random effects model provides the same benefits as described for the first paper. In this case, it allows for inferences to be made between individual movers while controlling for metropolitan-level characteristics. These models also use standardized variables to produce beta coefficients allowing for the strength of variable effects to be directly compared within models.

BLACK MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH:
METROPOLITAN DETERMINANTS OF BLACK PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRATION, 1970-2010

ABSTRACT

This article addresses gaps in the Black migration literature using the IPUMS and Decennial Census to examine the effects of macro-level factors on Black primary and return migrations from the North to the South between 1970 and 2010. Specifically, the analysis seeks to explain the impact of metropolitan-level determinants on Black non-South to South migration. The regression models test three sets of variables that measure the metropolitan's economic context, racial and ethnic characteristics, and middle class presence. Three key findings emerge from the results. First, in comparing the subregional effect on Black and White primary migrants, this study finds that the South Atlantic states are more attractive to primary migrants than the Inner South states and Texas, but there were no regional differences for return migrants. Second, more new housing in southern metropolitan areas is a positive draw for Black and White primary migrants, but is not for return migrants and high metropolitan poverty is a universal deterrent for all migrant types. And third, the results confirm previous findings that the migration to the South for Blacks, unlike Whites, cannot be characterized as a retirement-centered migration. In fact, for Blacks, this migration to the South may reflect a draw to living with successful in-group members, as there is some evidence that Blacks are significantly more likely to move to Southern metropolitan areas with a strong Black middle class presence, in contrast to their White counterparts.

INTRODUCTION

The North, which was considered the Promised Land, was where Southern Blacks migrated after World Wars I and II in order to seek new opportunities and escape racial oppression. Since the end of the Civil Rights Movement, however, that migration pattern has reversed, with Blacks heading South in increasing numbers (Tolnay 2003). Fleeing declining cities in the Northern Frostbelt, Blacks have been attracted to the South because of the region's burgeoning industries, urbanization in metropolitan areas, and broadening racial and ethnic diversity (Frey 2004, 2006).

If the North was once referred to as the *Promised Land* for Black Americans, then the South is their new *El Dorado*. The El Dorado represents the new transformed South, once ruled by Jim Crow, that today reflects a region offering a wide variety of opportunities that are attractive to Black migrants. In summarizing Ravenstein's laws of migration, Lee (1966) states that the most significant migration is caused by individuals seeking to better their condition. Thus, explaining why Blacks are headed to the South and understanding whether or not they have been able to improve their condition under non-South to South migration are important lines of inquiry.

The share of the Black population in the U.S. is growing at a faster rate in the South than in any other region in the United States and more than half of America's Black population now resides in the South. The South is being resettled by Blacks, but not just through retirees (Stack 1996; Beale and Fuguitt 2011), it is also attracting the "smartest and brightest" of the Black population (Frey 2004; Hunt et al 2012, 2013). While Black primary and return migrants are headed to the South in pursuit of emerging opportunities, today, Black migration to the South predominantly consists of primary migrants, individuals who have never lived in the South,

rather than return migrants (Adelman 2000; Hunt et al 2008).

This research considers macro-level factors in understanding Black primary and return migrations to the South by making use of the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) and Decennial Census data to link Black migration to metropolitan-level characteristics. The study seeks to answer two questions. First, which metropolitan-level characteristics best explain Black migration to the South? Second, are there differences between Black primary and return migrants in the metropolitan characteristics that shape their migration?

This paper contributes to the understanding of macro-level factors in explaining Black migration to the South in two ways. First, exploring the Black primary and return migrations add to the understanding of Black non-South to South migration and the metropolitan distinctions that help to explain that movement. Research on Black primary and return migrations have focused on individual- and household-level characteristics to understand Black migration but the not the specific pull of Southern metropolitan areas (MA's, hereafter) to which migrants are locating.

Second, this study incorporates metropolitan-level explanatory variables under three distinct themes including: (1) metropolitan economic context, (2) race, ethnicity, and space, and (3) middle class presence to test theoretical arguments that help explain why Blacks migrate to Southern MAs. Many of these factors have not yet been incorporated in the examination of Black non-South to South migration despite variations in the sizes of primary and return migrant populations observed across Southern metropolitan areas. By including two distinct types of Black non-South to South migrants and a wide range of metropolitan-level explanatory variables, this analysis can uncover the underlying dynamics driving Black migration to the South.

BACKGROUND ON BLACK SOUTHERN MIGRATION

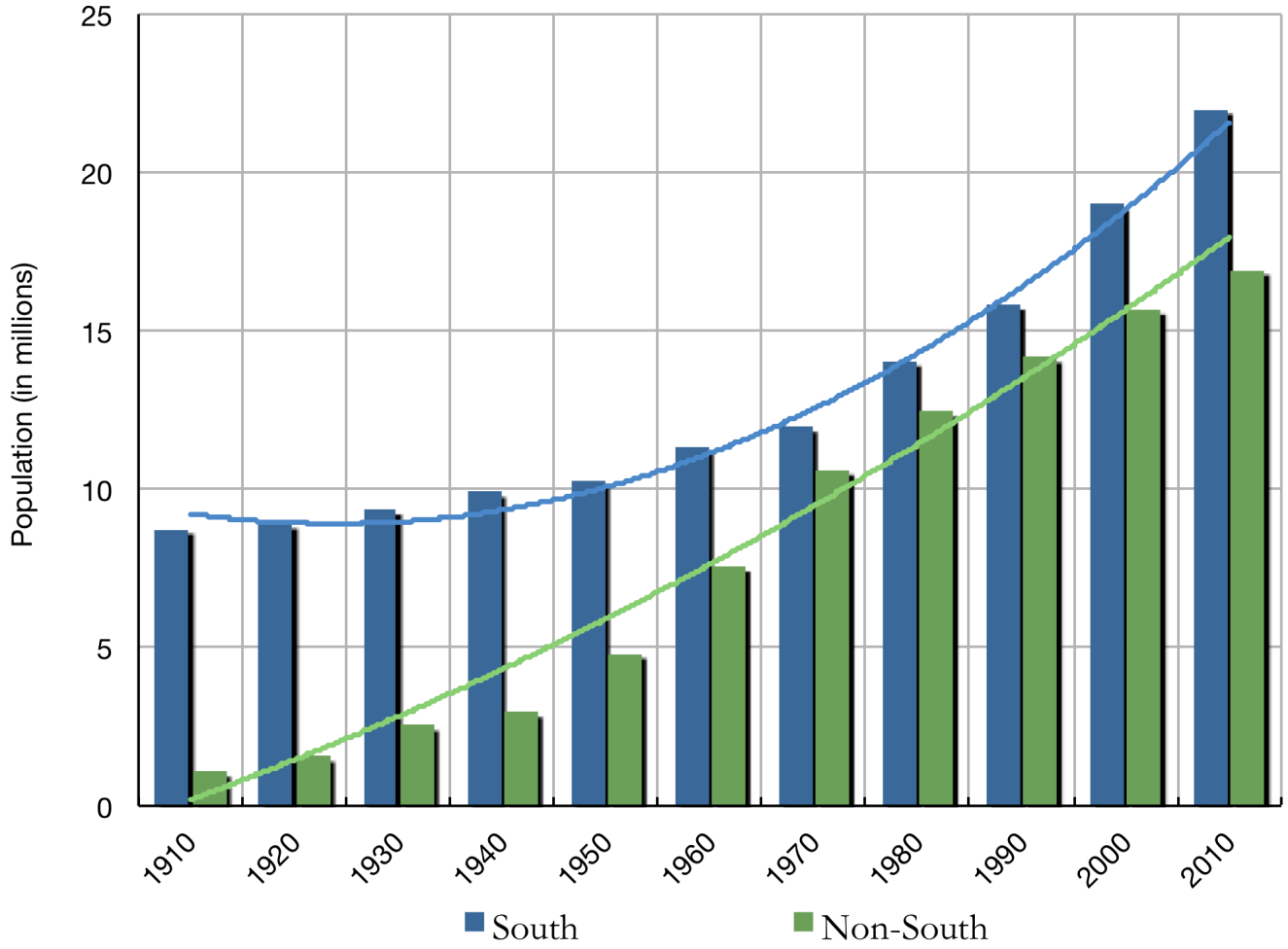
Black non-South to South migration has received greater attention over the last decade. Scholars have examined the motivations for Black migration (Hunt et al 2012), the institutional forces promoting Black migration (Pendergrass 2013) and the changes in occupational prestige among Black migrants (Flippen 2013). And the emergence of scholarly work on the importance of metropolitan-level indicators to explain mobility has shaped the thesis of this article (Crowder and South 2005; Crowder et al 2012; Iceland et al 2012; Pais et al 2012). Recent research on the Black primary and return migrations find that Blacks are moving to Southern metropolitan areas in larger numbers than to non-metropolitan or rural areas (Frey 2006), and that Southern MAs across the South are not created equal. Scholars suggest that MAs along the southeastern seaboard (the South Atlantic) and in Texas are faring better than MAs in the Deep South (the Inner South) as it relates to urbanization, job growth, and net migration (Frey 2004, 2006; MDC 1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2010, 2011). Black migration reflects the ability of the South to attract residents through distinct metropolitan-level characteristics, but it is still unclear which specific metropolitan characteristics draw these movers to the region. Indeed, although increasing numbers of Blacks continue to head South, there is little information on the macro-level mobility processes shaping their movement.

In 2010, over 55% of the American Black population resided in the South (Rastogi 2011). And of the total population in the South, one of every five persons is Black, a proportion that is the highest of all U.S. regions (Rastogi 2011). The Black population has also grown at a faster rate in the South and West than other parts of the U.S. In the South, higher rates of Black primary and return migrations and lower levels of Southern out-migration contributed to much of the growth (Frey 2006). With the majority of the Black population located in the South, a focus on Black's ability to access opportunity in the region is key to understanding Black progress in the U.S.

Figure 1 illustrates the share of Black population over the previous one hundred years across the non-South and South. For every decennial year between 1910 and 2010, the Black population in the South has consistently remained larger than the Black population in the non-South. Between 1910 and 1970, the Black population exhibited enormous growth in the non-South due to the first and second Great Migrations. These Great Migrations characterized the movement of Blacks from the South into the North (Tolnay 2003). Yet, it is clear that the growth in the Southern Black population was reinvigorated after the 1970 period. The Black population growth in the South during this time period has been associated with both fewer Blacks leaving the Southern region and with the Black primary and return migrations.

Previous research has focused on the Black return migration—Blacks born in the South and now returning to the South from the non-South—as this first-wave of migrants made up the majority of non-South to South movement (Robinson 1986; Fuguitt et al 2001; Stack 1996). Black return migrants were largely retirees and moving in significant numbers to non-metropolitan areas in the region. The next wave constituted a growing proportion of Black primary migrants. This subsequent wave soon reflected "primary migrants"—migrants relocating to the South who did not have ties of birth to the region (Falk et al 2004). In 1970, 54% of Blacks heading South were return migrants, but by 2000 that number was reduced to 29.4% with the largest majority of migrants now being primary migrants (Hunt et al 2008). Generally, Blacks who migrate South are generally of higher socioeconomic status than Southern stayers and are locating to both urban and rural parts of the region (Falk et al 2004). And Black primary migrants have exhibited higher socioeconomic status than Black return migrants (Hunt et al 2008), as the return migrants' primary motivation for relocation has been to return home (Stack 1996). Generally, Blacks are also more likely than their White counterparts to move South from the non-South (Hunt et al 2004).

FIGURE 1: 100-YEAR CHANGE IN THE BLACK POPULATION BY REGION, 1980-2010



Source: Gibson and Jung 2002; Census Briefs, Black Population: 2010

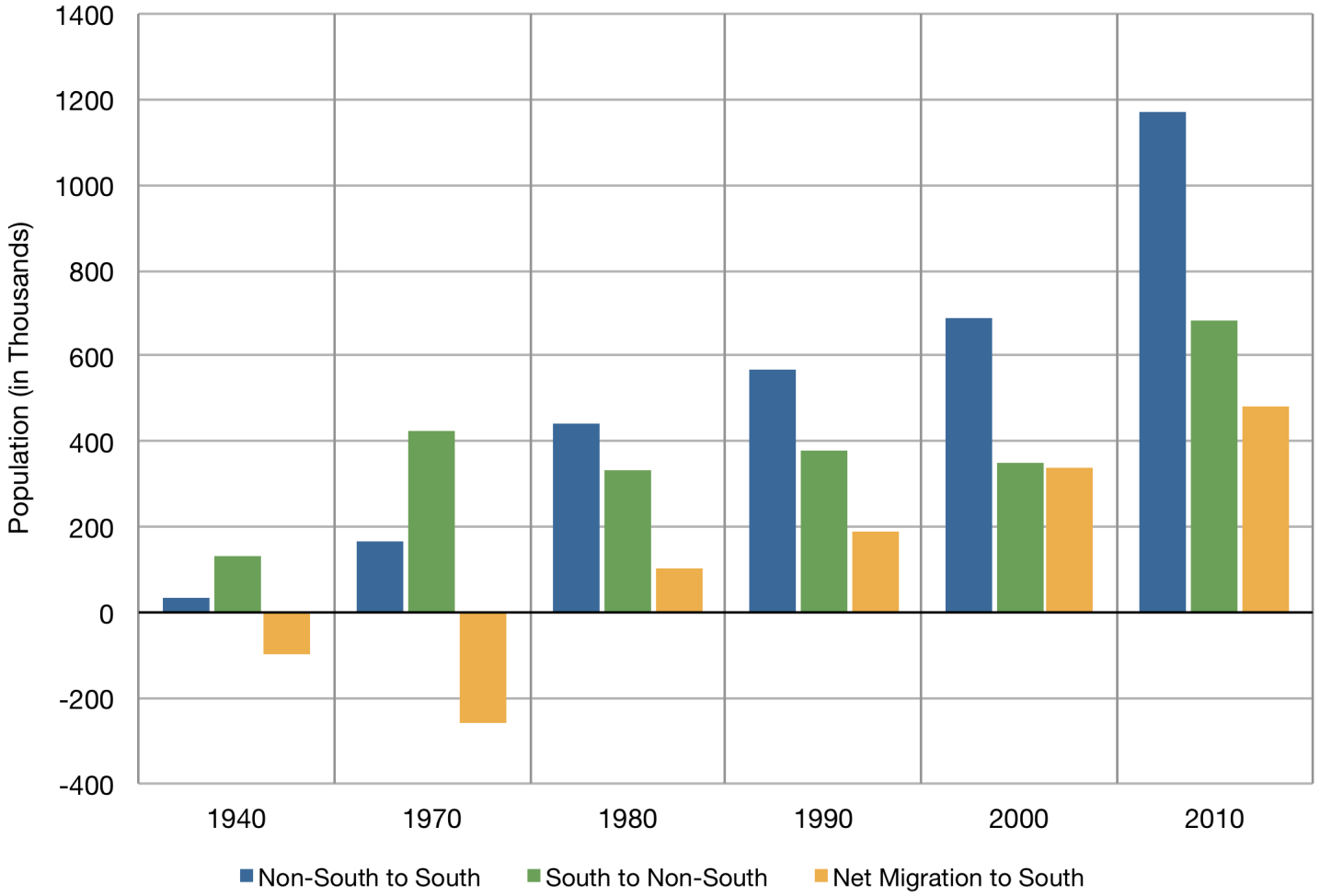
Figure 2 confirms that the Black net migration from the non-South to the South increased after 1970. In the 1970s, the Black net migration between the regions was negative and hit its nadir. However, the influx of migrants to the South picked up in the following decennial period and steadily grew, reversing the negative net migration, in each subsequent period. Save the 2010 period, Figure 2 also shows that the number of Blacks leaving the South declined and remained fairly constant between 1970 and 2000.[1]

Within the larger non-South to South migration, the majority of Black primary and return migrants are moving to metropolitan locations (Falk et al 2004). The two MAs in the U.S. with the largest total Black populations are Chicago and New York. These two MAs experienced the majority of its Black population growth under the Great Migrations. Yet, currently, Southern MAs hold larger shares of the Black population with 58 percent of the Black population gain between 2000-2004 occurring in the largest Southern MAs with populations greater than 500,000 (Frey 2006). Eight of the top ten MAs that have experienced Black population gains are located in the South (see Frey 2006); and all eight of these MAs have been located in States along the South Atlantic and in Texas. One notable example of tremendous Black population growth has been in Atlanta, which has ascended from having the 7th largest Black population in 1990 of all MAs in the U.S. to the 3rd largest in 2004 (Frey 2006).

According to Lee (1966), although the majority of migration is prompted by a desire for upward mobility, all migration is driven by push and pull effects. Under a pull effect, long-distance migration is generally linked to industry and commerce of metropolitan destinations, while under a push effect, long-distance migration is strongly associated with economic hardship

[1] The 2010 period relies on data from the American Community Survey for its migrant count, and due to a slightly different migration question than the Decennial Census, it may inflate reported migration totals

FIGURE 2: BLACK MIGRATION BETWEEN REGIONS, 1940-2010



Source: Author's analysis of 1940, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses and 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 American Community Survey Censuses

at the place of origin (Lee 1966). Thus, migration that occurs at longer distances result from strong push or pull effects that occur before the relocation event.

Although primary and return migrants move similar distances between the non-South and the South, they may move as a result of distinct circumstances. On the one hand, the return migration movement for Blacks is a 'call to home,' which for this particular migrant type may reflect both push and pull factors. Primary migrants, on the other hand, would be largely impacted by a pull effect. Thus, one might predict that primary migrants are more likely to move to Southern MAs with a strong economic or social context, while that relationship would not be as strong for return migrants. Primary migrants would also be more likely to relocate to Southern MAs with a strong in-group middle class population than their return migrant counterparts.

EXPLAINING BLACK MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH

Since Frey's (2004) claim that the Black primary and return migrations could be attributed to the changing conditions of the South, studies on Black southern migration have done little to operationalize those conditions. Instead, the focus has been on the individual-level and household-level determinants of the migrants (Hunt et al 2013), although more recent work has suggested institutional forces—employers, educational institutions in Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and ethnic media—are at the heart of the migration (Pendergrass 2013). Still, the role that macro-level factors play in attracting Black migrants is still not well understood, especially in light of the role that metropolitan-level constraints play in influencing the levels of racial residential segregation (Crowder and South 2005; Crowder et al 2012; Iceland et al 2013). The focus of this paper is the effect of metropolitan characteristics on Black non-South to South migration. In this section, I discuss three categories of macro-level influence:,

(1) the metropolitan economic context, (2) the race, ethnicity and space, and (3) the middle-class presence on the Black primary and return migrations. I also cover the metropolitan control variables known to potentially constrain migration.

(A) METROPOLITAN ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The metropolitan economic context has been identified as critical in understanding residential mobility (Crowder et al 2012). It includes variables such as: poverty, unemployment and the MAs industrial specialization. Poverty and unemployment are economic conditions that impact the MA's ability to attract residents, albeit in different ways. Poverty as an enduring condition should have strong negative effects on attracting Black migrants. The condition of poverty is also correlated with long-term unemployment, high crime, and poor quality schools (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993). As well, similar to poverty, unemployment will also have negative effects on Black migration. These migrants will avoid metros where work is difficult to obtain.

The industrial specialization of the MA is related to income inequality and racial residential segregation, and together both can impact migration (Farley and Frey 1994; Logan et al 2004). For instance, higher levels of manufacturing employment compared to low levels of service employment has been connected to lower income inequality (Jaret, Reid and Adelman 2003). As well, high proportions of professional, management and technical (PMT) employment reflects higher paying positions in emerging MAs in the South. And employment in the military and the public sector are associated with lower levels of segregation and thus will continue to attract migrants (Logan et al 2004).

(B) RACE, ETHNICITY, AND SPACE

The racial and ethnic character of the MA examines the effects of the proportions of the

non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Asian and Hispanic populations on migration. Additional variables related to space capture metropolitan diversity experienced in the MA and its associated Black-White racial residential segregation, and both consider how these characteristics might impact migrant location outcomes. Generally, because new MAs are less segregated than old MAs, they should be more attractive to migrants. The South and West have the majority of new MAs in the U.S.—older MAs are those whose central cities had populations greater than 50,000 in the 19th century (Logan et al 2004).

The ethnocentric perspective argues that migrants would find more favorable conditions in MAs with higher populations of in-group members. This perspective states that the presence of in-group members reduce feelings of alienation (Levine 1972). Minorities would find areas with a strong majority group representation less desirable due to difficulties of incorporation when compared to highly concentrated minority areas (see Pais 2013). As well, Black migration would be driven into MAs with larger Black populations while Black migrants may also avoid MAs with significant White populations.

The racial and ethnic composition of the MA population will impact the MA's ability to attract migrants and the size of a racial/ethnic group in the MA would determine the availability of that group within its various types of neighborhoods (Crowder et al 2012; South and Crowder 1997). The likelihood that migrants would have access to other racial and ethnic groups would depend on that group's relative size in the MA (Crowder and South 2005). Thus, the size of racial and ethnic groups in MAs would determine the MA's relative levels of diversity or segregation.

The spatial assimilation and the place stratification models further help to explain migrant location. The spatial assimilation model generally states that under an equitable

residential landscape, Black migrants should have access to the same opportunities as White migrants, and thus find themselves in similar metropolitan locations despite racial differences (Park 1925). In contrast, the place stratification model generally posits that this would not be the case. Due to racial residential segregation and economic disparities across race, Blacks would relocate to metropolitan areas for different reasons than Whites, highlighting distinct racial differences between the two groups (Logan et al 2004).

One should expect the MA's level of diversity and racial residential segregation to effect Black migration to the region. Diversity is the presence of a range of minority groups in the MA (Reibel and Regelson 2011), which is key in a region that has historically operated under a Black-White racial dichotomy. Since MAs are becoming increasingly diverse (Fong and Shibuya 2005) and more so in the South (Iceland 2012), diversity may increase the number of available integrated spaces within the MA, increasing the MAs ability to attract residents. For example, the spatial assimilation model might assume that Black migrants would equate diverse spaces with greater opportunities and access to more resources than historically segregated Southern spaces. Thus, a diverse MA would be more attractive to migrants. For Whites, the place stratification model suggests that greater diversity, large proportions of Blacks, Latinos, or Asians in a MA may threaten a more familiar way of life in Southern MAs. Thus, increased diversity in a MA would motivate Whites to avoid these spaces (Iceland et al 2013; Blalock 1967).

Additionally, the levels of Black-White residential segregation may inversely impact Black migration, and act in ways counter to diversity. Research has shown that lower levels of racial residential segregation are tied to residential equity in U.S. metropolitan areas (Iceland 2009). Under the spatial assimilation model, Black migrants may avoid MAs with high levels of Black-White residential segregation due to the constraints that racially stratified MAs may play in

denying quality residential options (Massey and Denton 1993; Charles 2003). Specifically the spatial assimilation model would expect Blacks to avoid MAs with high levels of racial residential segregation, while the place stratification model would predict that MAs of this type would be unavoidable for Blacks due to discrimination in the greater housing market.

(C) MIDDLE CLASS PRESENCE

The Black middle class exemplifies America's promise of upward mobility (Landry 1987), yet Patillo-McCoy argues that the changing economy of the United States has negatively impacted opportunities to both the growth and the stabilization of the Black middle class (1999). Additionally, Lacy (2009) suggests that there are two Black middle class types, (a) the fragile Black lower-middle class and (b) the stable Black middle class. This study focuses on the stable Black middle class that lives under socioeconomic conditions that more resemble the White middle class. Lacy states that the Black lower middle class "typically earn less than fifty thousand dollars annually, do not hold college degrees, and are concentrated in sales and clerical positions rather than white-collar positions" (2009). Black primary and return migrants would be more attracted to Southern MAs with the presence of a stable Black middle class since that general presence may represent future opportunities for these Black migrants. The effect of the Black middle class presence on non-South to South migration decisions has been implied but not explored in previous research (Frey 2004).

(D) METROPOLITAN CONTROL VARIABLES

Metropolitan control variables cover several key components including population size, suburban population, and municipal fragmentation; new housing and owner occupied housing; the retirement population; and the high school dropout population. MAs with larger population sizes as compared to those with smaller ones, experience higher levels of racial residential

segregation, therefore MA population size may negatively affect an MAs ability to attract Black residents. Suburban population can also provide greater minority access to quality neighborhoods, so MAs with a strong suburban population will attract migrants (Crowder et al 2012). In addition, municipal fragmentation like racial residential segregation could negatively impact Black access to quality neighborhoods within an MA (Crowder et al 2012). As municipal fragmentation increases, so does the chance that individuals separate themselves by way of race or class characteristics.

New housing construction provides greater opportunity for migrant access to new and quality homes. The housing availability perspective finds that MAs with significant recent housing construction allows greater opportunity for residential mobility, and reduces levels of residential segregation (Farley and Frey 1994). Further, high levels of owner occupied housing may act as a deterrent to migrant access to quality neighborhoods within a larger MA. Higher levels of occupied housing may reduce mobility, and this coupled with lower rates of new housing may typify an intractable housing market.

A strong retirement-aged population reflects an MA that is attractive to retirees. Since return migrants have been born in the South prior to living in the North, they may be more prone to retirement-centered migration, while this may not be true for primary migrants moving to seek opportunity. Thus, return migrants may find themselves in locations with a larger retirement-age population than would primary migrants. Lastly, the high school dropout population is an excellent proxy for the quality of young people and schools in an MA. MAs with a higher high school dropout rate may act as a deterrent for migrants, especially primary migrants, seeking opportunities for their children.

DATA AND METHODS

This papers draws on two sources of data, including the Integrated Public-Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and the Decennial Census Data. The IPUMS provides a rich source of publicly available individual-level census data and can be used to study migration patterns of U.S. residents. For this study, Black and White residents who were 25 years or older and reside in a Southern MA between 1980 and 2010 were selected in order to separate the effects of those migrants moving for college.[2] This is especially important because of the draw for Black college-aged students to Historically Black Colleges and Universities almost exclusively located in the South (Pendergrass 2013). This paper focuses on Black and White non-South to the South migrants characterized as two types. The first type represents return migrants—individuals that moved from the non-South but were also born in the South. The second type represents primary migrants—individuals that moved from the non-South but were not born in the South. This study excludes all migration to the South from destinations abroad. The study includes all qualifying individuals migrating from the non-South to the South.

The data is structured as a panel data set in order to understand the metropolitan determinants of migratory behavior over the previous four decadal periods (1980, 1990, 2000, 2010). Each Southern MA is in the data set for up to four time periods, the Decennial periods of 1975-1980, 1985-1990, and 1995-2000, and the ACS period of 2006-2010. The panel dataset allows for a larger sample and a robust look at Southern migration during the 40-year period of this study. The dataset is appended with IPUMS data to capture metropolitan-level socio-economic and demographic characteristics drawn from the Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 periods. This data has been lagged ten-years in order to characterize each Southern MA *before* the migration event. The model can then predict which metropolitan characteristics

2 I use the Census definition of the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) to define Metropolitan Areas in this study.

of the previous decade attract Black and White residents in the present decade. For example, Decennial Census 1990 data is used to predict migration during the 1995-2000 migration period.

Dependent Variables. My analysis explores the influence of metropolitan characteristics on two distinct outcomes—non-South to South migration for (1) return migrants and (2) primary migrants. The first dependent variable measures return migration and is defined as (1) all residents living in Southern metros, that both moved from the non-South but were born in the South, while the second dependent variable measures primary migration which is defined as (2) all residents living in Southern metros that moved from the non-South and who were not born in the South. Separate models are produced for both Black and White return and primary migrants for a total of four models.

Independent Variables. This analysis includes control variables that have been noted to act as metropolitan constraints to mobility (Crowder et al 2012; Iceland et al 2013), including: metropolitan population (logged), percentage of residents aged 65 and over, percentage of new housing, percentage of high school dropouts, percentage of owner occupied housing, percentage of suburban population and rate of municipal fragmentation in the MA. Suburban population and municipal fragmentation are obtained from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's State of the Cities Data Systems (2009). The municipal fragmentation variable captures the probability that two individuals will live in different municipalities within the same MA (Crowder et al 2012). A score of 0 represents a MA that functions as a single municipality while a score of 1 represents a MA under compete fragmentation.

This analysis also includes measures for the *metropolitan economic context* which includes poverty and unemployment rates, and the percentage of the MA's labor force that are employed within the military, manufacturing, public sector, and professional, management, and technical

(PMT) industries. I also include measures to capture *race, ethnicity and space* of the MA, which include the proportions of non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian and Hispanic, as well as the MA's Black-White dissimilarity and diversity indices (see the American Communities Project for further information regarding these indices). The dissimilarity index captures the level of Black-White racial residential segregation in the MA. And, the diversity index measures how well the MA has moved toward an even representation of the following five racial-ethnic categories: non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian, non-Hispanic Other and Hispanic. Finally, there are measures to capture the *middle-class presence* in the MA including measures of the middle-class: the percentages of same-race residents with a college education and with a household income of $50,000 or more.[3]

The literature suggests that the majority of Black population growth in the South is driven by migration from elsewhere into Southern MAs. Yet, Black migrant population growth varies across Southern MAs and larger subregions, and most likely as a result of differences in opportunity. The majority of scholars analyze the South as one uniform region. Yet, there has been some discussion on the necessity of establishing Southern subregions and how to appropriately construct them. For example, the Census Bureau distinguishes the Greater Southern region into three distinct parts defined as the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central[4]. These distinctions are seldom used, and when used, distinct differences between the subregions are rarely found (e.g. Iceland et al 2013). Falk et al (2004) have defined

3 Lacy (2009) also includes homeownership and the Professional, Management and Technical Occupation as measures of the stable Black middle class. These measures were highly correlated and in order to determine the potential for multicollinearity within my models, I focused on the proportion of the Black college-educated population and the Black high-income household population.

4 South Atlantic: DE, WV, VA, NC, SC, GA, FL; East South Central: KY, TN, MS, AL; West South Central: TX, OK, AR, LA.

the South as two regions defined as the Deep South and Border States[5]. Essentially the Border States surround the states in the Deep South that make up the Southern core. Using these regions, it was found that 65% of Blacks were moving to the Deep South states while 62% of Whites were moving to the Border States (Hunt et al. 2012). Still, Hunt et al (2012) suggest that new definitions of Southern subregions should be constructed to capture the complexity of Black southern migration. Frey (2006) found that Blacks were moving in smaller numbers to the "Old South", states in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama compared to the "New South", emerging states in Texas, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. The "New South" locations are attractive to Black migrants due to their "high-tech development, knowledge-based industries, recreation, and new urban and suburban communities" (Frey 2004). Based on these findings and MDC white papers on social and economic conditions in the South (1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2010, 2011), this study presents three subregions in an effort to capture subregional distinctions across the South. They include the South Atlantic which is defined as those U.S. Southern states along the Atlantic Coast; the Inner South, as comprising all states in the middle of the Southern region; and Texas, as characteristically different from the Inner South due to its economic and historic attributes, and as a State, large enough to represent its own subregion because of the number of large metropolitan areas located within it.[6] These three subregions best capture distinctions found between subregions in the Greater South.

Analytic Strategy. I pool the data for the study period by decadal period yielding up to four periods for each MA in the full sample. I use the strategy of a non-constant sample of MAs to best represent metropolitan change in the South between 1970 and 2010 (See Iceland et al 2013).

5 Deep South: VA, NC, SC, GA, AL, MS, LA, and AR and Border States: DE, MD, WV, KY, TN, TX, FL, and DC.

6 South Atlantic: DE, VA, NC, SC, GA, FL; Inner South: WV, KY, TN, MS, AL, OK, AR, LA; and TX.

In order to explain the ability of a Southern MA to attract and retain residents between 1970 and 2010, I execute a random effects model. In this case, the random effects model is specifically useful in providing generalized inferences for the study's migrant populations within and between Southern MAs. Thus, under this model, the study will be able to make inferences for each of the distinct migrant groups while controlling for differences between the MAs in which they are located.

$$\gamma 1_{it} = \beta 0 + \beta 1 x 1_{it} + \alpha_i + \mu_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

In the base model, x_1 represents the vector of metropolitan variables, *i* represents the Southern MA and *t* represents the Decennial Census year. β_1 represents the coefficients for these predictors, α_i represents the unknown intercept for each Southern MA, μ_{it} is the between Southern MA area error term and ε_{it} is the within Southern MA area error term. I estimate separate models for primary and return migrants for both Black and White populations. Each model is race and migrant-specific estimating the strength of metropolitan characteristics on attracting each of these groups to the South.

$$\gamma 1_{it} = \beta 0 + \beta 1 x 1_{it} + \beta 2 x 2_{it} + \beta 3 x 3_{it} + \beta 4 x 4_{it} + \alpha_i + \mu_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

The model above includes a subset of variables in which x_1 represents the metropolitan control variables, x_2 represents the *metropolitan economic context*, x_3 represents the *racial and ethnic character*, and x_4 represents the *middle class presence.* These sets of variables capture important factors in understanding the macro-level effects on primary and return migration. This model also includes a *subregional variable* to control for Southern subregional differences.

Limitations. One of the limitations of this study is the change in surveys experienced between the 2000 and 2010 periods. The Decennial Census has discontinued their long form

survey that has historically captured information related to migration. Specifically, the Decennial Census asks the question, "Where did this person live five years ago?" which allows scholars to examine migration and mobility in the U.S. The American Community Survey (ACS) has replaced the Census long form for the 2010 period. Because the ACS is an annual survey, unlike the Decennial Census, they ask movers "Where did you live one year ago?". In order to maintain consistency over the two periods, I aggregated the ACS data estimates for the 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010 years to produce counts for all migrant types. The challenge with the ACS is that in the aggregation of migrant counts, one is at risk of capturing repeat movers who are generally left out of the Decennial Census. Due to greater intervening obstacles for long-distance migrants, repeat migration is less than likely for this group. As a result, I run the proposed models both with and without the 2006-2010 ACS data and found similar results across models.

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics of Southern metropolitan-level characteristics in the sample before the migration event between 1970 and 2000. It is clear that the South has experienced strong metropolitan growth during this time period. And when considering Southern subregional growth, it is apparent that the South Atlantic MAs had the largest average total population with a population mean at a fewer than 600,000 residents. In contrast, Texas MAs had a population mean slightly over 400,000 residents while Inner South MAs were just short of the 400,000 mark. South Atlantic MAs grew at a faster rate (73.8%) than both those in Texas (45%) and in the Inner South (25%). Texas has the smallest average Black population (9%) of the three subregions with a Black population that is less than half both the South Atlantic (21%) and the Inner South (20%). In contrast, the average Hispanic population in Texas is significantly larger than the average across the rest of the South (figures not shown in table). In general, the size of the Southern Black population has remained steady since 1970.

TABLE 1: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1970-2000

	1970		1980		1990		2000		2010		%Change between 1970 and 2000
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Metropolitan Characteristics											
Total Population	388,216	493,286	445,717	563,768	511,726	694,807	625,990	933,866	787,478	1,190,000	61.2%
Southern Subregion Population											
South Atlantic Population	448,497	587,241	523,135	674,203	608,655	815,642	779,433	1,130,000	892,702	1,290,000	73.8%
Inner South Population	346,892	305,226	375,211	314,917	393,897	329,487	433,727	389,919	539,249	524,990	25.0%
Texas Population	328,777	542,993	411,939	660,421	511,055	876,045	476,791	833,863	992,933	1,720,000	45.0%
Prop New Housing	0.32	0.09	0.34	0.08	0.28	0.08	0.22	0.06	0.34	0.09	-31.3%
Propotion Age 65+	0.09	0.04	0.11	0.04	0.12	0.04	0.13	0.04	0.13	0.04	44.4%
Prop Dropout	0.18	0.05	0.16	0.04	0.12	0.03	0.11	0.03	0.07	0.02	-38.9%
Prop Owner Occupied	0.64	0.07	0.67	0.06	0.66	0.06	0.68	0.05	0.68	0.05	6.3%
Prop Suburban Population	0.50	0.20	0.56	0.20	0.58	0.20	0.59	0.20	N/A	N/A	18.0%
Municipal Fragmentation	0.58	0.26	0.60	0.25	0.63	0.24	0.65	0.24	N/A	N/A	12.1%
Metropolitan Economic Context											
Prop Poverty	0.15	0.06	0.16	0.05	0.16	0.06	0.15	0.05	0.16	0.05	0.0%
Prop Unemployment	0.04	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.02	50.0%
Prop Manufacturing	0.20	0.10	0.20	0.09	0.17	0.08	0.13	0.06	0.10	0.05	-35.0%
Prop Public Sector	0.19	0.08	0.20	0.06	0.18	0.06	0.17	0.05	0.17	0.04	-10.5%
Prop PMT Sector	0.24	0.05	0.51	0.06	0.56	0.06	0.31	0.05	0.33	0.05	29.2%
Prop Service Industry	0.11	0.01	0.13	0.02	0.14	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.00	-72.7%

Racial and Ethnic Character											
Prop Non-Hispanic White	0.82	0.10	0.75	0.15	0.73	0.16	0.68	0.16	0.64	0.16	-17.1%
Prop Non-Hispanic Black	0.18	0.10	0.18	0.11	0.18	0.11	0.19	0.12	0.19	0.12	5.6%
Prop Non-Hispanic Asian	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	--
Prop Hispanic	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.16	0.07	0.17	0.10	0.18	0.13	0.18	--
Black-White Dissimilarity	63.95	12.20	60.21	12.85	53.64	11.55	50.90	10.43	51.11	9.82	-20.4%
Diversity Index	40.78	13.97	38.13	10.74	39.84	11.23	47.92	12.10	54.83	12.45	17.5%
Middle Class Presence											
Prop Black College Educated Population	0.05	0.02	0.08	0.05	0.10	0.04	0.13	0.05	0.15	0.06	160.0%
Prop White College Educated Population	0.13	0.05	0.17	0.05	0.20	0.06	0.25	0.07	0.28	0.08	92.3%
Prop Black High Income HH (>$50k)	0.22	0.07	0.33	0.08	0.28	0.08	0.33	0.07	0.30	0.07	50.0%
Prop White High Income HH (>$50k)	0.55	0.10	0.58	0.08	0.50	0.08	0.54	0.07	0.52	0.07	-1.8%
N	*79*		*86*		*104*		*109*		*111*		

Source: Decennial Census Data 1970-2000

There has been an observable decrease in the proportion of the White population, which can be largely attributed to both the growth of the Hispanic population, and the Black population growth due to primary and return migrations to the South. Increased Black migration to the South, along with fewer Blacks leaving the South, has enabled the Black population to maintain a sizable presence in the region.

In observing the Southern metropolitan economic context, between 1970-2000, all of the following industries experienced a decline: manufacturing (-35%), service (-11%), and public sector (-72%). In contrast, the PMT industry experienced strong growth with a 29% increase. Black-White residential segregation decreased in the South by 17% during this period, which is consistent with previous research that has observed overall national declines in residential segregation (Glaeser and Vigdor 2012). Accordingly, the Diversity Index in the average Southern MA showed an overall increase of 18% between 1970 and 2000, although there appears to have been noticeable fluctuations throughout the decades. The Black middle-class has grown exponentially in the South between 1970 and 2000. The proportion of the Black college educated population grew 160% and the White college educated population increased by 92% across the average Southern MA. In addition, the proportion of Black high-income households grew at a rate of 50% while White high-income households experienced a slight decline. Still, the proportion of White high-income households is approximately twice that of Black high-income households for any given year.

Table 2 displays the metropolitan means of primary and return migrants across race by Southern subregion between 1980 and 2010. For Whites, the size of the primary migrant population is generally larger than that of the return migrant population for any given year across all subregions. In contrast, for Blacks, the size of the primary migrants population has been larger than that of the return migrants in the South Atlantic since 1990 and in Texas since

TABLE 2: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRANTS TO SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS BY SUBREGION, 1980-2010

BLACK	South Atlantic				Inner South				Texas			
	Primary		Return		Primary		Return		Primary		Return	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
1980	978	1,962	1,467	2,128	179	251	1,036	1,076	733	1,461	1,093	2,093
1990	2,602	4,903	1,940	2,734	421	488	891	855	657	1,415	718	1,310
2000	2,912	6,368	1,618	2,828	586	624	902	926	1,129	2,316	966	1,640
2010	4,573	10,534	2,000	3,436	1,212	1,127	1,355	1,482	2,439	5,346	1,450	2,776
Total	*2,917*	*7,112*	*1,763*	*2,857*	*633*	*816*	*1,054*	*1,128*	*1,282*	*3,205*	*1,059*	*2,011*

WHITE	South Atlantic				Inner South				Texas			
	Primary		Return		Primary		Return		Primary		Return	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
1980	25,544	49,163	5,011	6,224	5,629	4,988	3,921	3,014	16,907	29,212	6,027	9,067
1990	32,052	50,352	5,037	6,065	4,764	4,852	2,205	2,048	10,344	21,359	3,174	5,695
2000	23,534	34,871	4,031	5,215	4,886	5,438	2,069	1,908	11,995	22,438	4,078	7,193
2010	22,047	24,150	5,014	5,137	8,585	8,587	3,338	2,925	19,530	27,949	6,719	9,458
Total	*25,295*	*39,296*	*4,733*	*5,570*	*6,042*	*6,413*	*2,851*	*2,595*	*14,603*	*24,996*	*4,955*	*7,915*

Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) 1980-2010

2000. It is only in the Inner South that the size of the return migrant population has been generally larger than primary migrants for Blacks. Still, the size of the primary migrant population has been generally smaller in the Inner South than in both the South Atlantic and Texas. At first glance the Inner South appears to be a subregion of particular interest to Black return migrants; instead, it would be more accurate to state that the Inner South is a subregion that has *not* been attractive to Black primary migrants. The South Atlantic and Texas are subregions that have increasingly drawn primary migrants over time. As well, for Whites, the South Atlantic and Texas have been more attractive to primary migrants than the Inner South.

In accordance with previous literature, although the size of the return migrant population is smaller than the size of the primary migrant population between 1980 and 2010 (Hunt et al 2013), the Inner South's inability to attract primary migrants is missed when the South is studied as a homogenous region. Table 2 illustrates that the Inner South fails to attract primary and return migrants during the study period while the South Atlantic and Texas have experienced the bulk of the South's migrant growth.

The following section examines the effects of metropolitan contexts on the Southern MA's ability to attract Black primary and return migrants. This study juxtaposes the outcome of White primary and return migrants to compare the effects of metropolitan characteristics on their Black counterparts.

MODELING METROPOLITAN EXPLANATIONS FOR SOUTHERN BLACK MOBILITY

The theoretical arguments guiding my analysis suggests that metropolitan characteristics are important in the ability of Southern MAs to attract Black residents under the Black primary and return migrations. In Table 3, I include full random effects models for migrant types by

race covering the period of 1970-2010.[7] In this section, I will compare Black and White primary and return migrants focusing on characteristics including those representing subregional and metropolitan control variables, metropolitan economic context, race, ethnicity and space, and middle class presence.

(A) SUBREGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN CHARACTERISTICS

According to Table 3, there is evidence that White primary migrants are more likely to locate to the South Atlantic states over both the Inner South and Texas, while Black primary migrants are more likely to move into the South Atlantic compared to Texas with no significant difference between the South Atlantic and the Inner South. There is no significant subregional effect for neither White nor Black return migrants. Not surprisingly, the size of the MA is significant in attracting both primary and return migrants, placing larger MAs at an advantage in drawing additional migrants. These findings together suggest that the South Atlantic is at an advantage in attracting non-South to South migrants whether it is due to their disproportionately larger MAs or because of their general attractiveness.

As it relates to new housing construction, White and Black primary migrants are more likely to locate to developing MAs, while this relationship is not significant for their return migrant counterparts. In addition, a greater percentage of owner occupied housing is a deterrent to Black and White primary migrants and White return migrants. Thus, while new housing increases migrants' access to emerging neighborhoods across MAs, increasing percentages of owner occupied housing may make a metropolitan area more intractable. Together these

7 Due to the difference in surveys between the Decennial Census and the American Community Survey in capturing migration counts, I run these random effects models both with and without the 2006-2010 ACS data. There does not exist major differences between the models as the general direction of the independent variables remains fairly consistent across both variables. For further review, the appendix includes the full models for both samples.

findings suggest that housing is essential to attracting primary migrants as it acts a proxy for increased neighborhood access and residential choice.

TABLE 3: MACRO-LEVEL EFFECTS ON MIGRATION BY RACE, 1980-2010

VARIABLES	Black Return Migrants	White Return Migrants	Black Primary Migrants	White Primary Migrants
Year 1980 (base=2010)	-0.427	-1.396***	0.21	-1.016**
	-0.479	-0.336	-0.594	-0.398
Year 1990 (base=2010)	-0.715	-1.773***	0.21	-1.614***
	-0.554	-0.384	-0.689	-0.454
Year 2000 (base=2010)	-0.402	-0.777***	0.594	-0.799***
	-0.315	-0.212	-0.379	-0.255
Subregion Controls				
Inner South (base=South Atlantic)	0.0215	-0.0162	-0.238	-0.483***
	-0.149	-0.0892	-0.18	-0.127
Texas (base=South Atlantic)	-0.0906	0.0998	-0.470*	-0.370*
	-0.233	-0.144	-0.282	-0.205
Group 1 - General Metropolitan Character				
Total Population (Natural Log)	0.877***	0.770***	0.970***	0.832***
	-0.0943	-0.0547	-0.119	-0.0723
Percent New Housing (<10yrs old)	-0.54	0.634	1.644*	2.268***
	-0.761	-0.477	-0.893	-0.597
Percent Retirement Aged (65+)	-2.201	2.732**	1.877	6.268***
	-1.897	-1.205	-2.191	-1.617
Percent HS Dropout	0.0382	-1.045	-0.271	-1.81
	-1.864	-1.225	-2.319	-1.491
Percent Owner Occupied	-0.985	-2.213**	-4.286***	-2.618**
	-1.337	-0.86	-1.621	-1.094
Percent Suburban Pop	-0.0591	-0.127	0.182	-0.328
	-0.449	-0.279	-0.531	-0.388
Municipal Fragmentation	0.156	0.394*	-0.176	0.750**
	-0.352	-0.214	-0.419	-0.3
Group 2 - Metropolitan Economic Context				
Percent Poverty	-6.805***	-6.076***	-11.53***	-6.743***
	-2.253	-1.426	-2.423	-1.774
Percent Unemployment	3.689	10.14***	1.906	6.742**
	-3.767	-2.81	-4.413	-3.252

Percent Manufacturing	0.261	-0.83	-0.945	-2.760***
	-0.975	-0.599	-1.199	-0.796
Percent Public Sector	0.0232	-1.390*	-0.322	-1.974*
	-1.325	-0.834	-1.644	-1.105
Percent PMT Occupation	0.979	2.693**	-0.0533	2.181
	-1.616	-1.273	-2.014	-1.49
Group 3 - Racial and Ethnic Character				
Percent Non-Hisp White Pop		1.190*		0.796
		-0.637		-0.784
Percent Non-Hisp Black Pop	4.000***		3.143***	
	-0.82		-0.977	
Percent Non-Hisp Asian Pop	-2.878	-1.611	11.17	-5.895
	-6.752	-5.195	-7.996	-6.078
Percent Hispanic Pop	-0.231	0.395	0.709	0.947
	-0.762	-0.482	-0.807	-0.626
Black-White Dissimilarity	-0.000535	-0.00547	-0.00159	-0.00645
	-0.00603	-0.00397	-0.00715	-0.00495
Diversity Index	0.000674	0.00598	-0.000855	0.00465
	-0.00606	-0.00393	-0.00679	-0.00444
Group 4 - Middle Class Presence				
Percent White College Educ Pop		0.533		1.292
		-1.117		-1.326
Percent White High Inc Pop		-0.627		-2.624**
		-0.942		-1.144
Percent Black College Educ Pop	4.653**		6.227***	
	-1.813		-1.998	
Percent Black High Inc Pop	-2.939**		-3.494***	
	-1.21		-1.168	
Constant	-3.220*	-1.089	-2.403	0.957
	-1.706	-1.367	-2.074	-1.67
Observations	346	374	333	377
Number of metro	108	110	108	110
r2_o	0.69	0.781	0.718	0.79
r2_b	0.823	0.905	0.784	0.87
r2_w	0.0322	0.222	0.436	0.181
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1				
Source: Decennial Census 1970-2000 and IPUMS 1980-2010				
Dependent Variables are natural logged counts				

There are two notable effects that are significant only for White migrants. Both White primary and return migrants are more likely to move to metropolitan areas with strong retirement-aged populations. This is not the case for either Black migrant type. This suggests that there exist different motivations of non-South to South migration for Whites compared to Blacks. In addition, there is evidence that municipal fragmentation is positively related to attracting White both primary and return migrants. Further, municipal fragmentation is strongest in the South Atlantic across all sample years compared to the Inner South and Texas. Municipal fragmentation represents the amount of segregated places across a larger MA. As the number of municipalities increases in the MA, so does the ability of residents to protect resources through supported policies and political separation.

(B) METROPOLITAN ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The increasing size of the PMT industry show little evidence of effect as it only significantly affects White return migrants with no significant effect for other migrant types across race. The manufacturing industry and the public sector both negatively impact White primary migration to the metropolitan South. Black migrants are generally not significantly affected by the metropolitan economic context outside of the conditions of poverty. In fact, strong poverty conditions negatively affects metropolitan location of all migrant types across race. While Black and White primary and return migrants avoid MAs with high percentages of poverty, White migrants also avoid MAs with a strong manufacturing industry and public sector. White return migrants appear to be the only group that display a significant relationship to the growing PMT sector which suggests that their migration to their region of birth is also motivated by the region's changing economic landscape.

(C) RACE, ETHNICITY, AND SPACE

Black primary and return migrants are attracted to MAs with a strong non-Hispanic Black population. In contrast, only White return migrants show a strong relationship with the size of non-Hispanic White population. Additionally, segregation and diversity do not have any significant effect on non-South to South migration. There is no significant effect of segregation across Southern MAs on Black and White primary and return migrants. Increasing diversity in the South over time does not show any significant effect on either migrant type by race. These findings suggest that racial residential segregation and diversity do not significantly impact non-South to South migration. Thus, although racial residential segregation is generally lower in the South compared to other U.S. regions and the historic Black-White racial landscape is becoming increasing diverse, these racial changes are not necessarily making the region more attractive for White and Black migrants.

(D) MIDDLE CLASS PRESENCE

For Blacks, the metropolitan Black middle class presence has the strongest impact on migrant location outcomes. Greater numbers of college-educated Blacks in MA has a strong significant effect on attracting Black primary and return migrants. There is no similar effect for either White primary or return migrants. In contrast, MAs with larger populations of high-income Blacks act as a deterrent for Black primary and return migrants. This effect also exists for White primary migrants. The positive effect of the Black college educated population is approximately twice as strong as the negative effect of the Black high-income population in attracting Black long distance migrants. For Black migrants, this suggests that an increasing Black college-educated population better represents access to MAs with strong Black middle-class members as it represents a lower point of entry when compared to MAs with an increasing Black high-income population. The latter group may trigger a higher point of entry for Black migrants in their ability to access the quality of life associated with high-income. Also, MAs with

a strong Black college-educated population may represent quality locations with a visible Black middle-class population, and this population may serve as an alternative to a visible Black high-income population without the higher cost of access.

CONCLUSION

This study has focused on macro-level factors in understanding migration to the South between 1970 and 2010. More specifically, this study examines the effects of subregional and metropolitan characteristics—metropolitan economic context, race, ethnicity and space, and middle class presence—on Black primary and return migrations to the South. This is demonstrably different from studies that focus on the effect of individual- and household-level characteristics on migration. This study examines migrants from the non-South to the South by race and migrant type (primary vs. return), to determine whether metropolitan characteristics have differential effects on these groups.

Since 1970, the South experienced tremendous metropolitan growth. The subregion of the South Atlantic, growing at a faster rate than the rest of the region, has been the major driver of that greater region's overall growth. This paper notes several reasons for why the South has grown at such a rapid rate. The economy of the South is changing. The PMT industry has grown while the aging manufacturing industry has declined along with the service industry and public sector. Overall, Black-White racial residential segregation has also decreased while general diversity has increased. And the middle class population has grown at a staggering rate in the region for both Black and Whites.

Under the primary and return migrations to the South, it is clear that the subregions in the South are not created equal. And this inequality is overlooked when the South is studied as a homogenous region. Black and White primary migrants locate at greater rates to the South

Atlantic and Texas compared to Inner South. In contrast, Black return migrants have been generally larger than the Black primary migrant population in the Inner South. But, still, this study has found that the Inner South has *not* been attractive for primary migrants and especially Black primary migrants. Further, this conclusion is in lieu of one that advances that the Inner South is more attractive to return migrants. It appears that return migrants are moving in similar numbers to other Southern subregions.

In further analysis of metropolitan locational patterns of non-South to South migration, this study finds differences between primary and return migrants across race. There is evidence that Blacks and Whites are more likely to move to the South Atlantic than both the Inner South and Texas even when controlling for other metropolitan indicators. This further supports the notion that for migrants there are clear differences among the subregions in the South. One might speculate that in addition to the ability of MAs in the South Atlantic to attract migrants through burgeoning metropolitan areas, a diversifying resident population and a growing in-group middle-class population, the South Atlantic offers additional attractions not captured by the Census Data. In fact, intangibles like greater access to a major interstate highway system with inroads to metropolitan areas in the Northeast are important for South Atlantic growth.

Although poverty has been an excellent indicator in predicting migrant avoidance, the general economic condition of Southern metropolitan areas have acted as a better predictor of White non-South to South moves compared to their Black counterparts. In fact, the metropolitan economy does not show any significant impact on Black migration. White return migrants, in contrast, are moving to areas with a strong PMT industry and White migrants in general avoid MAs with a strong manufacturing industry and public sector.

Black migrants, unlike their White counterparts, are attracted to MAs with a strong in-

group college-educated population. In other words, a strong Black college-educated presence is key in drawing both Black primary and return migrants to Southern MAs. This is not the case for White migrants. In fact, White primary and return migrants are attracted to Southern MAs with a strong retirement-aged population. Together these findings suggest that Black and White migrants in general locate to the South under different motivations. As well, it is important to note that Southern MAs with a strong Black high-income population may deter Black primary and return migrations. It may be the case that Southern MAs with a strong Black high-income population trigger a higher entry point for Black migrants seeking a similar quality of life. In contrast, Black migrant access to MAs with a visible Black college-educated population represents a lower, a more easily attainable point of entry when compared to the Black high-income population. Thus, the Black migration is dictated both by perception and by realistic opportunities to access quality of life across these distinct middle-class attributes. Further, research should explore the types of neighborhoods that Black non-South to South migrants access in the South in light of these Black middle class populations.

Ultimately, these findings suggest that Black primary and return migrations may not mean access to whiter neighborhoods which is suggested by the spatial assimilation model nor does it mean that Blacks will be marginalized when selecting majority Black neighborhoods under the place stratification perspective. With evidence that Blacks are attracted to Southern MAs with a strong Black college-educated population, the developing Southern region which includes new housing construction, a growing Black regional population, and an observable Black middle class illustrates that the South most recently may offer Black migrants access to unique spatial compositions that intersect at along racial and class lines. The positive aforementioned factors are uniquely pulled together in the South making the region notably important for future studies on Black migration, and Black progress in general.

Still, Black migration to MAs with a strong Black middle class is a double-edged sword. While there is some evidence that Blacks are attracted to living in areas with a strong Black college-educated population and the opportunities that an MA of this type might bring, the conditions that cause them to select MAs with a middle-class presence instead MAs with a strong economic landscape is troubling. In America, one might argue that Black non-South to South migration is strongly driven by social factors over economic ones. In contrast, Whites are relocating to Southern MAs because of the burgeoning economic landscape in the region or at least they avoid MAs with a declining one. Still, one must consider that White migrants may take for granted the size of White population, albeit middle class or not, in any Southern MA that they select. Blacks do not have this luxury, and that fact alone may reflect strongly in their decision-making process. This study is limited, as it does not focus on the neighborhood context to appropriately test the theories of spatial assimilation and place stratification. However, it does contend that future research on Black migration should consider the distinct nature of the Southern context.

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THE NEW EL DORADO:
LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF BLACK PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRANTS TO THE SOUTH, 1970-2010

ABSTRACT

The South is the New El Dorado for Blacks in the post-Civil Rights era. Fifty-five percent of the total U.S. Black population resides in the South, Black-White residential segregation has continued to decline and the region has become more urbanized, thereby making the South a prime region for Black locational attainment. Relying on confidential Decennial Census 1970-2000 and the American Community Survey 2006-2010 data, this study tests the spatial assimilation and place-stratification models in explaining locational attainment of Black non-South migrants—primary and return migrants—who are moving from the non-South into the South. Black non-South migrants to the South relocate to higher quality neighborhoods than the average Black resident in the South, which is in contrast to Whites who experience no similar added benefits from migrating to the South. In line with the spatial assimilation model, individual socioeconomic status and the metropolitan PMT sector explain locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods for both White and Black migrants to the South. Yet, in support of the place-stratification perspective, racial residential segregation continues to act as a deterrent to Black access to middle-class neighborhoods while showing no effect for Whites. In regards to locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, the metropolitan size of the Black middle-class population along with individual socioeconomic indicators explain Black access into these neighborhoods. These findings support the minority culture of mobility model that posits that Black middle-class neighborhoods, when available, are attractive to the Black middle class.

1. INTRODUCTION

The South in the 21st Century characterizes an *El Dorado* for Blacks in the U.S. as the region becomes more attractive (Anderson forthcoming, 1). An El Dorado represents a South whose transformation has been tied to the close of the Civil Rights movement as Black migration out of the region has slowed and Black primary and return migrations into the region has increased. This is in sharp contrast to the Midwest and Northeast's declining *Promise Land* of the 20th Century. Still, the South has been neglected as a region of importance in the post-Civil Rights era. Much of the neglect can be attributed to a specific focus on challenges that Blacks confronted in the non-South including the ramifications of deindustrialization (Harrison and Bluestone 1982), the negative effects of White flight—central city to suburb movement (Krysan 2002), and the dire consequences of racial residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993). And, when the South has been studied, it has been examined as part of the growing Sunbelt (Iceland et al 2012) and rarely on its own terms. Yet, the emphasis on Southern regional analysis to examine Black quality of life is not new. W.E.B. Du Bois conducted systematic studies on the social, economic, and physical conditions of Blacks in the region well before Sociology was established as a discipline (Johnson 1937; Wright 2006). From 1897 to 1914, Du Bois led the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory, directing 16 studies of Blacks in the region. Seventy-six percent of the 7.6 million Blacks resided in the South as of 1900, and Atlanta, Georgia was the geographic heart of the then present-day Black population and contained the largest number of Blacks of any State in the U.S. (Wright 2014). From North Carolina, Howard W. Odum later made his own efforts to study Blacks and Southern cultural life (Odum 1951; Wright 2014). His work reconfirmed the importance of the region in understanding Black quality of life.

The South has grown into one of the most dynamic regions of economic growth in the U.S. in the post-Civil Rights era. In contrast, the Northeast and Midwest remain stagnant or in

decline (Pandit 1997; Frey 2004; MDC 2010). Overall population growth in the South is also exploding and the proportion of Blacks living in the region has increased steadily over time. As of the 2010 Census, over 55% of the Black population resides in the South confirming the region's continued importance for African-Americans. Furthermore, Black migrants relocate to Southern metropolitan areas in search of opportunities, and the Black population, already in the South, is less likely to leave the region (Frey 2004; Hunt et al 2012, 2013; Anderson forthcoming 1). And, when Southern Blacks do move, they are more likely to move to Southern metropolitan areas within the region (MDC 2002, 2010). According to Iceland and colleagues, the South and West are the most racially integrated regions in the U.S. (Table 5.2, 2002). Further, Southern racial residential segregation is experiencing the largest declines in smaller and newer metropolises (Logan, Stults, and Farley 2002). And because of low and declining racial residential segregation in the South, Blacks should find themselves in more racially integrated neighborhoods in the region. This assumption is due to the wide number of studies that connect racial residential segregation to various deleterious consequences—infant and adult mortality, low educational attainment, underemployment, death rates from homicide, high rates of single motherhood, and the constricted accumulation of equity in homes (LaViest 1989, 1993; Polednak 1990, 1993; Peterson and Krivo 1993, 1999; Hart et al 1998; Collins and Williams 1999).

In the post-Civil Rights South, as the Black population grows and racial residential segregation declines, it is no surprise that the region has become a key destination for African Americans. The non-South has been studied intently in the latter half of the twentieth century to understand Black progress in the U.S. Thus, it appears that to understand Black progress in the 21st century, one cannot neglect the South. Specifically, this study asks whether or not Black non-South to South migrants are able to access high quality neighborhoods, and whether there

are differences between primary and return migrants. Furthermore, this study examines the effects of individual socioeconomic and metropolitan characteristics on Black migrants' access into high quality neighborhoods in the post-Civil Rights South.

The results from these analyses will have implications for scholarly literatures in the areas of: (a) residential settlement and distribution patterns in the South (Freeman 2010; Lloyd 2012; Waren 2012; Connor 2014), (b) locational attainment—access to quality neighborhoods—for varying racial/ethnic groups (Alba and Logan 1993; Logan and Alba 1993; Anderson forthcoming, 3), and (c) differences in locational attainment outcomes for Black primary and return migrations (Hunt et al 2012, 2013; Pendergrass 2013a, 2013b). The analysis of data from 1970 to 2010 will contribute to understanding whether Black migrants are able to translate socioeconomic status into quality neighborhoods in the South.

This study makes three main contributions to the aforementioned literatures. First, the study examines the Southern region to understand differences in neighborhood quality for Blacks since the close of the Civil Rights movement. The South houses the majority of America's Black population, and through increased urbanization and the improvement in race relations in the region through the passing of Civil Rights legislation, it becomes a relevant place of study in understanding Black progress in the U.S. Little is known about Black locational attainment in the Contemporary South, and specifically the ability of Black primary and return migrants to translate socioeconomic resources into quality neighborhoods.

Second, the locational attainment literature generally focuses its examination on major metropolitan areas in the Northeast, Midwest and West, paying little attention to the unique differences that the South presents. In comparing locational attainment across metropolitan neighborhoods in the South, this project hopes to shed light on these differences. This study

uses confidential Census data, from the Decennial Censuses 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 and the American Community Survey 2006-2010, which provides individual-level data at the census tract level. Generally, previous studies have noted that the use of the locational attainment strategy has been limited due to the lack of individual-level data (Logan and Alba 1993). This study incorporates both individual- and metropolitan-level factors in understanding locational attainment and employs hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) because locational attainment has been shown to be impacted by both micro-level and macro-level indicators (South et al 2011a, 2011b; Pais et al 2012).

Lastly, this study ties into the literature on the Black primary and return migrations to the South in focusing on the ability of these non-South migrants to locate into quality neighborhoods between 1970 and 2010. This study incorporates primary and return migrants to the South to better understand the role that non-South to South migration has on locational attainment. By including a focus on migration, this study explains the relative locational advantage or disadvantage of the growing Black relocation to the South, and whether Blacks are able to translate higher socioeconomic status into quality neighborhoods.

2. BACKGROUND

LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Locational attainment explains the effect of individual characteristics on accessing quality neighborhoods. Its use was borne out of the racial residential segregation literature. Alba and Logan (1992) originated a model that used individual-level characteristics to predict an aggregate neighborhood characteristic. Specifically, the locational attainment model relies on individual-level data to understand spatial processes at the neighborhood or census-tract level. More recent models have also incorporated metropolitan-level variables in locational attainment models to

capture differences found across metropolitan areas (South et al 2011a, 2011b; Pais et al 2012). Locational attainment studies have drawn largely on the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and the Panel Study for Income Dynamics to test theories of spatial assimilation for minority groups.

Generally, Blacks face difficulties converting their individual socioeconomic resources into residential attainment in whiter, wealthier, and suburban neighborhoods (Alba and Logan 1991; 1993; Crowder, South and Chavez 2006; Logan and Alba 1993). However, due to the South's unique disposition as it relates to the size of the Black population and availability of Black middle-class neighbors, its more accessible quality of life, and the overlap of poor rural areas and new suburban neighborhoods, traditional locational attainment indicators are not appropriate for Southern regional analysis. As well, Freeman argues that Black's desire to locate into White neighborhoods in the post-Civil Rights era may be on the decline (Freeman 2008). And, there is evidence that more affluent Blacks may seek to convert their individual resources into access into Black middle-class neighborhoods (Anderson forthcoming, 1).

Alba, Logan and Stults (2000), using median household income and the percentage of White residents as indicators of neighborhood quality across the large metropolitan areas of Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, New York and San Francisco, found that Whites had higher locational attainment than Blacks while Hispanics and Asians fell between the two groups. Notably, they also found that, for Asians and Hispanics, access to higher quality neighborhoods did not mean living in majority Whites neighborhoods (Alba, Logan and Stults 2000). Although previous research suggest that Blacks are at a disadvantage in their ability to access quality neighborhoods, there is reason to believe that this disadvantage would be reduced in the South. Due to low racial residential segregation in the South, one would expect greater opportunity for Blacks to access quality neighborhoods in the region compared to the Midwest and Northeast

where racial residential segregation has been historically higher (Farley and Frey 1994).

Anderson (forthcoming, 1) finds that the general size of the Black population and its middle-class in the region may allow Blacks to create enclaves that are selective by race and class. Bayer and colleagues contend that an increase in the size of the educated Black population in a metropolitan area would in turn increase the opportunity for this population to live in quality White and educated communities or Black and educated communities (2005). This may lead to a rise in segregation as educated Blacks move from predominantly White neighborhoods into emerging Black middle-class ones. The authors suggest that there can exist both an increase in segregation and a decline in economic inequality (Bayer et al 2005). In order to understand locational attainment in the South, it is essential to recast of the neighborhood type from traditional neighborhood quality indicators of percent White population and suburban residence.

This study extends the use of locational attainment measures by focusing on measures that capture the extent that a neighborhood is middle class. Previous studies have been unable to measure multiple neighborhood characteristics in a single neighborhood quality indicator due to a lack of available data. The use of confidential Census data has allowed for the construction of an indicator that better captures neighborhood quality by incorporating multiple class characteristics. In light of previous findings, which suggest that Blacks may select Black middle-class neighborhoods when they are available, this study constructs both a middle-class and a same-race middle-class neighborhood indicator in order to shed more light on that relationship. These variables will be discussed in more detail n the Data and Methods section.

THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN RESIDENTIAL LANDSCAPE

The South is distinguished from other U.S. regions for Blacks due to its unique history of residential segregation. After the Civil War, approximately 90% of the African American

population resided in the South. Due to policies of Jim Crow and the density of the Black population in the South, separation of the races became a focal point in the region. Policy-makers would enact residential zoning laws to achieve racial segregation. Silver (1991) argues that racially informed zoning was a central feature of the pre-Civil Rights era. Zoning became an effective means to enforce racial segregation and critical in constructing the social geography observed in present-day Southern cities (Rice 1968; Silver 1991). In the landmark Supreme court decision Buchanan v. Warley (1917), the court ruled that the use of a racial zoning ordinance in Louisville, Kentucky was unconstitutional. While zoning was soon outlawed, race-based comprehensive planning was soon used to serve segregation in protecting White communities and restricting Black ones. Cities employed designations for Black residential spaces, used street and highway planning to create racial barriers, pursued community improvement with separate racial spaces in mind, and all of these processes served as a guide for public and private development (Silver 1991). As race-based planning grew, it became indistinguishable with general community improvement planning.

Between 1940 and 1950, residential segregation increases were small in the Northeast and West, moderate in the Midwest, and large in the South (Schnore and Evenson 1966). Between 1950 and 1960, there were average decreases in segregation across MAs in the Northeast and West, while the South continued to increase in segregation (Schnore and Evenson 1966). Schnore and Evenson (1966) found that older cities in the South were less segregated than newer cities, while Roof (1976) found that the age of the city was negatively associated with Black-White status differentials. In older cities, Blacks were widely scattered in "back yard" patterns—Whites on main avenues and Blacks in alleyways (Demerath and Gilmore 1954; Frazier 1957; Myrdal 1944). These settlements were established long before economic forces shaped patterns existing in modern industrial cities. Taeuber and Taeuber affirmed that

differences in racial residential segregation across Southern cities could be determined by whether or not that city was established before or after the Civil War (1965). Older Southern cities are the product of ports, railways and commercial centers, or as local trading and market towns (Heberle 1948). And these type of cities—that depend largely on commerce and trade—rarely grow to large proportions. Younger Southern cities in contrast emerged under industrialization and, as a result, are characterized by concentrated Black residential areas (Frazier 1957; Kellogg 1977). As well, although more recent Southern cities have higher segregation rates than its older cities, these overall segregation rates in the South are generally smaller than those in the Northeast and Midwest (Iceland et al 2012). As well, Freeman argues that Southern suburbs may be associated with lower socioeconomic status. He found that poor rural areas were incorporated into emerging suburban neighborhoods, especially for Blacks, as metropolitan areas grew beyond the central city (2010). This is in stark contrast to studies in the non-South that found that mobility from central city to suburb represented a move of upward mobility (Alba and Logan 1991).

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2011), as of 2010, there were approximately 42 million Black people living in the United States or approximately 14% of the total U.S. population. The Black population grew at a rate of 15% between 2000 and 2010, which was faster than the national rate of growth at 10%. The total Black population in the South increased from 53.6% in 2000 to 55% in 2010. And, one in five persons living in the South in 2010 were African American. The Southern Black population proportion of 20% is compared to the following Black population proportions by region: 13% in the Northeast, 11% in the Midwest and 6% in the West. In 2010, the States with the highest proportion of Blacks in the U.S. are located in the South including Washington, DC (52%), Mississippi (38%), Louisiana (33%), Georgia (32%), Maryland (31%), South Carolina (29%), and Alabama (27%). The MDC

reported that between 1987 and 2007 approximately 89 percent of job growth in the South occurred in its metropolitan areas (2011). And as of 2010, 75% of Southerners resided in metropolitan areas with the majority of its residents comprising young Blacks, Hispanics, and immigrant newcomers. As well, Whites represent 75% of the aging Southern population (MDC 2011). Together these facts illustrate that the South is not only transforming rapidly as a region, but has become a unique place of inquiry for understanding Black quality of life in the U.S.

Table 1 presents the top 10 Southern metropolitan areas with the highest Black proportions across two middle-class characteristics—college education and high income ($50k or higher). Washington, DC was consistently the top metropolitan area for both middle-class categories across every given year except for Black college education in 1970. DC's Black college educated population more than tripled between 1970 and 2010. This confirms that DC is an important metropolitan area for the growing Black middle-class (Cashin 2005; Lacy 2007). In regards to the Black college educated population, Texas had four key cities in the top ten in 2010 including San Antonio, Austin, Dallas and Houston. The South Atlantic states[8] had four cities in the top 10 in 2010: Washington, DC, Raleigh, Atlanta and Charlotte. And the Inner South states[9] had only two in the top 10 in 2010 with Huntsville and Nashville. As it relates to the Black high-income population, metros in the South Atlantic and Texas were dominant in 2010 and throughout most of the post-Civil Rights era. This suggests that the Black middle class is concentrated in two of three Southern subregions.

8 The South Atlantic states include Washington, DC, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

9 The Inner South states include West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Oklahoma, and Louisiana.

TABLE 1: TOP 10 SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS FOR BLACK COLLEGE EDUCATED AND BLACK HIGH INCOME POPULATIONS, 1970-2010

	1970			1980			1990			2000			2010	
Black College Educated Population														
1	Baton Rouge	8.7%	1	Washington, DC	14.3%	1	Washington, DC	19.6%	1	Washington, DC	24.3%	1	Washington, DC	29.4%
2	Washington, DC	8.5%	2	Nashville	12.8%	2	Huntsville	17.3%	2	Huntsville	21.8%	2	Raleigh	26.4%
3	Nashville	7.6%	3	Oklahoma City	12.2%	3	Atlanta	16.0%	3	Raleigh	21.6%	3	Atlanta	26.1%
4	Oklahoma City	7.4%	4	Houston	11.6%	4	Raleigh	15.9%	4	Atlanta	21.5%	4	Huntsville	26.0%
5	Greensboro	7.1%	5	Greensboro	11.6%	5	Austin	15.8%	5	Austin	20.1%	5	San Antonio	23.2%
6	Raleigh	6.7%	6	Raleigh	11.6%	6	Tallahassee	15.5%	6	Tallahassee	19.5%	6	Nashville	22.5%
7	Fayetteville	6.5%	7	Tallahassee	11.4%	7	Nashville	14.9%	7	Nashville	18.6%	7	Austin	22.4%
8	Montgomery	6.2%	8	Austin	11.3%	8	Houston	14.4%	8	Dallas	18.1%	8	Dallas	22.1%
9	Atlanta	5.9%	9	Jackson	11.2%	9	San Antonio	14.3%	9	Houston	17.9%	9	Charlotte	21.3%
10	San Antonio	5.5%	10	Baton Rouge	10.6%	10	Oklahoma City	14.1%	10	San Antonio	17.8%	10	Houston	21.3%
Black High Income Population (HH Inc 50k+)														
1	Washington, DC	52.1%	1	Washington, DC	56.4%	1	Washington, DC	58.0%	1	Washington, DC	58.8%	1	Washington, DC	60.0%
2	Baltimore	42.6%	2	Houston	47.6%	2	Baltimore	43.8%	2	Atlanta	50.9%	2	Baltimore	46.0%
3	Richmond	34.5%	3	Baltimore	42.9%	3	Atlanta	42.2%	3	Austin	47.0%	3	Killeen	43.6%
4	Atlanta	34.3%	4	Richmond	42.9%	4	Richmond	40.2%	4	Baltimore	44.0%	4	Atlanta	43.4%
5	Louisville	34.2%	5	Oklahoma City	41.3%	5	Raleigh	37.4%	5	Raleigh	43.9%	5	San Antonio	41.8%
6	Dallas	31.7%	6	Beaumont	41.2%	6	Dallas	36.4%	6	Charlotte	43.3%	6	Virginia Beach	41.3%
7	Greensboro	31.3%	7	Dallas	40.9%	7	Miami	36.4%	7	Dallas	43.1%	7	Richmond	40.3%
8	Virginia Beach	30.7%	8	Greensboro	38.9%	8	Charlotte	36.4%	8	Richmond	43.1%	8	Houston	40.0%
9	Oklahoma City	30.7%	9	Nashville	38.4%	9	Virginia Beach	36.2%	9	San Antonio	42.4%	9	Dallas	39.3%
10	Houston	30.4%	10	San Antonio	38.3%	10	Huntsville	35.9%	10	Houston	40.9%	10	Austin	39.0%

Source: Author's Analysis of Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.

*Black Population > 50,000

WHY A REGIONAL FOCUS FOR LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Since 1970, Blacks have begun to reverse population gains made under the first and second Great Migrations. The close of the Civil Rights Movement and improved economic conditions in the South enticed Blacks to head South for opportunity. Although there has been greater attention on the increasing Black primary and return migrations, there has yet to be an examination of this movement as it pertains to access to quality neighborhoods in the region. Flippen (2013) argues that Black migration to the South has occurred both due to the failure of the North to integrate Black populations that arrived as a result of the Great Migrations, and their inability to provide education and occupation opportunities similar to that of Whites. Thus, Blacks' ability to improve their social status in the South has driven their mobility to the region (Flippen 2013).

Generally, findings pertaining to Black locational attainment confounds nuances that may exist across U.S. regions. Adelman et al (2001) provides regional controls for their examination of locational attainment measured by neighborhood poverty. Examining 1970 and 1980 Census data, Adelman and colleagues (2001) found that Blacks and Whites were more likely to experience poverty in neighborhoods in the South when compared to the Northeast (reference group) in 1970. Yet, in 1980, while there existed a negligible difference between the poverty experience for Whites in the South and the Northeast, Blacks in contrast were more likely to experience poverty in the Northeast than in the South. The reversal of signs for Blacks may reflect the beginning of the post-Civil Rights South which has benefited increased prosperity through job growth, the positive impact of the civil rights legislation, and the Black reverse migration to the region.

One of the difficulties in interpreting regional characteristics in locational attainment

models is that the Northeast and Midwest are more alike due to industrialization than the West and the South. And although residents in the West and the South experience levels of residential segregation that are lower than other parts of the U.S., the cost of living between the two regions are far from similar. Malega (2014), using Decennial Census 2000 data, finds a negative relationship between Black affluence and the South measured by household income. Based on his measurements, the South has the lowest rate of Black affluence for the four regions—South, Midwest, Northeast, and West—with the West having the highest rate of affluence. Woldoff (2008) includes regional characteristics in a locational attainment study and finds that Southern residents are less likely to live in neighborhoods with high median income compared to other regions. She also finds that Black residents in the South are more likely to live with White neighbors compared to other regions (Woldoff 2008). When looking at locational attainment across the cities of Boston and Los Angeles, emblems of distinct regions, Freeman (2000) found differential effects for Blacks and Latinos. Latinos were not found to experience a statistically significant difference across socioeconomic status on locational attainment in Boston and Los Angeles. Blacks, in contrast, experienced significant differences across elements of income and foreign-born status between the two cities. This suggests that aggregate studies, although useful for generalization, may miss distinct regional understandings for locational attainment.

MDC reports, focused on a wide variety of topics impacting the South, observed distinct differences across the southern landscape—coastal states, inner states and Texas (MDC 2011, 2010, 2002). The coastal Southern states or the South Atlantic along with Texas have experienced more urban development, industry advances, job creation, and population growth when compared to the inner Southern states or Inner South (MDC 2011, 2010, 2002). Thus, subregional effects occurring within the South may also impact locational attainment.

The majority of studies on locational attainment has focused on either a singular case

(e.g. New York, see Logan and Alba 1993) or has examined trends across a large number of U.S. metropolitan areas (South et al 2011a; Pais et al 2012). As it relates to a regional focus, few studies in the post-Civil Rights era have sought to focus exclusively on locational attainment in the South. However, there exist numerous studies that have focused on neighborhoods and racial residential segregation in the Southern region in the 1970s and 1980s (Aiken 1990; Elgie et al. 1981; Goldfield 1981; Kellogg 1977; Newman 1983; Roof 1972; Roof et al 1976; Shelley et al 1978). The changes that the South has undergone since 1970 have reintroduced a region worthy of a regional focus.

3. THEORY OF MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

SPATIAL ASSIMILATION AND PLACE STRATIFICATION PERSPECTIVE

The spatial assimilation model suggests that as Blacks achieve greater socioeconomic status, they will exchange this status through relocation into quality neighborhoods (Massey 1985). Due to lower racial residential segregation in the South, one would expect higher locational attainment of Blacks, and in line with the spatial assimilation model, the greater ability of higher socioeconomic status Blacks to live in higher quality neighborhoods. The place-stratification model considers inequity in the housing market (Yinger 1995; Massey and Denton 1993), and generally posits that Blacks of increasing socioeconomic status will not be able to access neighborhoods that are comparable to Whites (Alba and Logan 1991). The strong version of the place stratification model states that returns on human capital for Blacks do not translate into quality neighborhood outcomes comparable to Whites. The weak version of the model states that even when human capital does translate into higher quality neighborhood outcomes for Blacks, these neighborhoods are of lesser quality than for their majority counterparts (Logan and Alba 1993). Still, although findings of previous research suggest that

Blacks may be at disadvantage in their ability to access quality neighborhoods, due to lower (than other regions) and declining rates of racial residential segregation in the South, there may be reason to believe that this disadvantage would be reduced in the South.

MOBILITY

In general, for Blacks and Whites, the rate of the return migration to the South steadily grew from the late 1950's onward, although the South still lost more residents than it gained (Long and Hansen 1975; 1977). The first positive Southern net migration gain for Blacks was observed in the 1970 Decennial Census after decades of losing Black migrants to the Great Migrations to the North (Robinson 1986). Along with the growing Southern return migration also came an increase in the number of non-Southern-born persons (primary migrants) heading South (Long and Hansen 1975). Southern metropolitan areas compared to non-metropolitan areas are the preferred destinations for all migrant groups in the region (MDC, 2010). Increased opportunities reflected in the rising social and economic characteristics of the South have attracted more migrants to the region (McHugh 1987; Adelman et al 2000; Fuguitt et al 2001; Tolnay 2003; Falk et al 2004; Frey 2004; L Hunt et al 2008; Beale et al 2011; M Hunt et al 2012, 2013; Flippen 2013; Pendergrass 2013a; 2013b).

Lee (1966) summarizes Ravenstein's law of migration stating that pull and push effects are the two types of effects that cause mobility. Mobility under a pull effect refers to the attraction of the place of destination, while mobility under a push effect refers to the challenges that occur at the place of origin. As well, individuals who move longer distances face more intervening obstacles than short distance movers as information about opportunities over longer distances are more difficult to obtain than those over shorter ones (Miller 1978). Blacks moving across longer distances should be better equipped to access quality neighborhoods if their long

distance migration can be characterized by pull instead of push factors (Lee 1966). The former implies that migrants seeking opportunities at their destination, regardless of their point of origin experience, place them at an advantage to succeed. In contrast, the latter suggests that migrants fleeing challenges at their point of origin may be at a disadvantage at their destination. Therefore, it is expected that Black primary migrants are more likely to find themselves in quality neighborhoods due to their positive selection from the non-South (Frey 2004) while Black return migrants in contrast would be more likely to experience decreased access to quality neighborhoods in the South due to a mixed bag of push and pull factors (Frey 2004; Stack 1996). Although return migrants at earlier time periods have returned to the South under retirement conditions or due to a lack of success in the non-South, more recent return migrants find themselves pulled to the South in similar ways as primary migrants (Anderson forthcoming, 1).

MINORITY CULTURE OF MOBILITY

The minority culture of mobility model suggests that in response to the effects of individual and institutional racism, minorities with socioeconomic resources would seek residence in Black middle-class neighborhoods (Neckerman et al 1999). Neckerman and colleagues (1999) also argue that the experience of middle-class Blacks is distinct from poor Blacks and middle-class Whites because middle-class Blacks face both discrimination and a distinct set of class-related issues, such as being pioneers in all White neighborhoods and feeling a sense of social isolated. Price-Spratlen (1999) finds that Blacks are more likely to move to areas that have a strong ethnogenic presence. Ethnogenic measures included NAACP activism, the number of African-American focused community papers, and the presence of the National Urban League. Also, the Black middle-class and population and neighborhoods have continued to generally increase (Lacy 2007; Pattillo 2005; Landry 1987). Although Blacks are open to a

diverse range of neighborhoods, with 50% White and 50% Black neighborhood as the most attractive neighborhood type (e.g. Clark 1991, 1992; Farley et al 1995; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Charles 2006), there is reason to believe that this neighborhood preference may be different in a region with a sizable Black middle-class population. Affluent Blacks often choose to reside in neighborhoods with fewer black neighbors than they prefer because of the lack of affluent and predominately Black neighborhoods (Bayer et al 2005). Bayer and colleagues (2005) suggest that more wealthy Black enclaves will materialize as the size of an affluent Black population increases. Thus, one might also expect higher socioeconomic Blacks to select to move into majority Black middle-class spaces due to the increased opportunity to do so in the region. Thus, in line with the minority culture of mobility model, Blacks with higher socioeconomic resources are likely to move into Black middle-class neighborhoods when they are available (Neckerman et al 1999).

4. DATA AND METHODS

This study utilizes confidential Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 and American Community Survey (ACS) 2006-2010 microdata data sets to answer the question of whether Black migrants are able to translate socioeconomic status into quality neighborhoods. The confidential Census microdata is a rich source of information in tracing individual migrant status at the neighborhood level. These data provide individual-level information at the census tract-level[10] as compared to Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, which provides data at the PUMA level[11]. In this study, confidential Census microdata provide individual sociodemographic and socioeconomic information for all migrants in this study. The data

[10] The Census tract-level has a population between 4,000 and 8,000 people.

[11] The PUMA level has a population of approximately 100,000 people.

record describes the individual-level and metropolitan-level characteristics for each migrant across Southern metropolitan areas.

This study includes non-Hispanic Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites over the age of 25 for all Decennial and ACS periods between 1970 and 2010 who moved from the non-South within the five years prior to the survey[12] and were currently living in a Southern metropolitan area at the time of the survey. Following Anderson (forthcoming, 1), this study focuses on primary and return migrants who moved from the non-South to South. The migrants are distinguished by their place of birth—primary migrants were born in the non-South while return migrants were born in the South.

Measuring the dependent variables. In exploring locational attainment among Black and White non-South migrants, this study uses the following proxies for neighborhood quality: the neighborhood percentage of middle-class members and the neighborhood percentage of same-group middle-class members. The neighborhood middle-class dependent variable was constructed by calculating the percentage of all adults[13] in a neighborhood with one of the following middle-class attributes: a) a college degree, b) a professional, management or technical occupation, or c) a household income of $50,000 or more. The neighborhood same-group middle-class dependent variable was constructed by calculating the number of same-race middle-class adults divided by the number of same-race adults in a neighborhood. The latter variable measures exposure to same-race middle-class residents in a given neighborhood. Thus, two same-race variables are constructed for Whites and Blacks and are treated as exposure to White middle-class residents (hereafter, White middle-class neighborhood) and exposure to Black

[12] In the case of the ACS, individuals who lived in non-South 1 year ago are included.

[13] Adults are defined as individuals who are 25 years and older.

middle-class residents (hereafter, Black middle-class neighborhood).

Measuring the independent variables. The independent variables for this study consist of individual-level and metropolitan-level characteristics that have been associated with locational attainment. Metropolitan-level explanatory variables are used to control for socioeconomic factors that may affect a migrant's ability to convert their individual socioeconomic status into locational attainment. In addition, there is an independent variable to distinguish between primary and return migrants relocating to the South. And in order to address differences observed across subregions in the South a subregional variable is included that distinguishes between the South Atlantic, Inner South and Texas (see Anderson forthcoming, 1). The South Atlantic includes the states of Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Washington, DC. The Inner South includes the states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Oklahoma, and Louisiana. Texas is included as a subregion due to its size, large number of metropolitan areas, and its general historic and cultural differences from the rest of the South.

As it relates to individual-level explanatory variables, this study includes a variable for household income in constant 2010 dollars, and a categorical variable to represent educational attainment. Control variables include age, gender, marital status, and homeownership status. Age is measured as a continuous variable. Gender is a dummy variable with male scored as 1. Martial status is measured as married or unmarried with married scored as 1. This study also includes variables to capture the professional, management, and technical (PMT) occupation, the service occupation, the manufacturing occupation, the public sector, and the military sector.

This study includes metropolitan-level measures that consider the effects of population size. It also includes measures for poverty in the percentage of individuals living in households

with income below the poverty level and the percentage of the unemployment population. The metropolitan industrial structure has also been included with measures that capture the percentage of the population in the manufacturing industry, the service industry, the professional, management and technical (PMT) industry, the public sector and the military sector. There is also a proxy for new housing development based on the percentage of new housing built within the previous ten years and an additional measure to capture the percentage of the homeownership population. The percentage of individuals who are 65 years or older acts as a proxy for the retirement population. Also included are the percentages of non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian, and Hispanic populations.

Additionally, this study uses the dissimilarity index to represent Black-White racial residential segregation and the diversity index to depict general metropolitan racial diversity. Metropolitan racial diversity is measured by the entropy index and is based on the racial/ethnic balance of Blacks, Whites, Asians and Hispanics. For 1970, however, the Decennial Census does not distinguish between Asians and Hispanics, thus here the diversity index is the racial/ethnic balance of Blacks, Whites, and other race. The minimum score of 0 represents a completely homogenous MA while a score of 1 represents an MA consisting of equal-sized groups. Finally, included are same-group middle-class characteristics captured by the metropolitan percentages of college-educated individuals and high-income households.[14]

Analytic strategy. This study estimates a series of hierarchical linear models (HLM) for each decennial decade between 1970 and 2010 to capture the effects of individual and metropolitan-level characteristics on locational attainment for all non-Hispanic Black and non-

[14] All independent variables went through diagnostic testing to determine the potential for multicollinearity. The metropolitan proportion of same-race PMT population was highly correlated ($r>0.7$) with the metropolitan proportions of the same-race college-educated population and the same-race high-income population. As a result of the high correlation, the metropolitan proportion of same-race PMT was not included in the regression models.

Hispanic White (hereafter referred to as Black and White) non-South migrants. The same series of models are constructed for all Black and White migrants residing in the South at the time of the survey. Generally, this study uses a random effects modeling strategy, which allows for comparison between and within Southern metropolitan areas. And in this case it considers individual-level characteristics nested within metropolitan areas. The following model represents the full model used in this study:

$$Yij=\beta 0+\beta 1X1ij+\beta 2X2ij+aij + eij + uij$$

Yij is the neighborhood outcome represented by the two proxies for locational attainment (i.e. percentage middle-class population and percentage same-group middle-class population) for individual i in metropolitan area j. X1 represents included individual-level characteristics and X2 represents included metropolitan-level characteristics. The model is identical across the series of proposed models for Black and White migrant groups. All models include standardized variables and their beta coefficients in order to compare explanatory variables within each given model.

5. RESULTS

LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN THE SOUTH BY MIGRANT STATUS

Table 2 describes locational attainment across key neighborhood quality indicators of White and Black primary and return migrants and the average Southern resident between 1970 and 2010. Primary and return migrants relocate between two regions—the non-South and the South, and the average Southern resident includes all residents currently living in the South including non-South migrants, other movers and non-movers. According to Table 2, for Whites, there are not significant differences between non-South to South migrant and the average Southern resident and locational attainment. Both White primary and return migrants

find themselves in similar quality neighborhoods as the average White resident in the South. Generally, Whites achieve a high level of locational attainment across all neighborhood quality indicators independent of whether they moved from the non-south or were southern residents.

Blacks in stark contrast illustrate strong locational attainment differences between non-south migrants and the average Black resident in the South. The locational attainment of the average Black resident in the South is lower than those of Black non-south migrants across all categories. Table 2 illustrates that Black non-South migrants, unlike their White counterparts, are more likely to achieve higher locational attainment. Specifically, Black long distance migrants live in whiter, economically stronger, and increasingly middle-class neighborhoods than the average Black resident living in the South. And this fact remains true when Black primary and return migrants are compared to Blacks who have moved within the South and those who live in the South and have not moved (analysis not shown).[15]

Table 2 also reveals that Black primary migrants are most similar to Whites in locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods. And across all middle-class neighborhood types, Black return migrants have generally experienced a faster rate of growth than Black primary migrants. The overall growth of Black middle-class neighborhoods in the South has been considerable. The average Black resident in the South has nearly doubled (91%) its access to Black middle-class neighborhoods in the region between 1970 and 2010. Still, Black primary and return migrants live in neighborhoods with a higher percentage of middle-class residents than the average Black resident in the region.

Generally, Black return migrants have generally closed the locational attainment gap with Black primary migrants over time. This is most likely the case as initial return migrants were

[15] Black long distance migrants were compared to short-distance movers and the same fact was found to be true.

TABLE 2: LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT TO THE SOUTH BY RACE AND MIGRANT STATUS, 1970-2010

NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL VARIABLES

WHITES	Pct White			Median HH Inc			Pct Middle Class			Pct White Middle Class		
	Return	Primary	All	Return	Primary	All	Return	Primary	All	Return	Primary	All
1970	0.92	0.94	0.90	$61,000	$66,000	$56,000	0.69	0.72	0.67	0.71	0.74	0.69
1980	0.85	0.87	0.85	$58,000	$62,000	$55,000	0.66	0.67	0.64	0.70	0.70	0.68
1990	0.82	0.83	0.82	$67,000	$68,000	$61,000	0.71	0.72	0.68	0.79	0.79	0.75
2000	0.78	0.79	0.78	$65,000	$63,000	$62,000	0.81	0.80	0.79	0.81	0.80	0.78
2010	0.73	0.74	0.76	$70,000	$70,000	$71,000	0.76	0.77	0.76	0.79	0.79	0.78
CH 70-10	-21%	-21%	-16%	15%	6%	27%	10%	7%	13%	11%	7%	13%

BLACKS	Pct White			Median HH Inc			Pct Middle Class			Pct Black Middle Class		
	Return	Primary	All	Return	Primary	All	Return	Primary	All	Return	Primary	All
1970	0.40	0.54	0.31	$49,000	$73,000	$38,000	0.49	0.58	0.43	0.39	0.50	0.34
1980	0.49	0.57	0.36	$47,000	$56,000	$39,000	0.53	0.60	0.48	0.49	0.57	0.43
1990	0.53	0.58	0.39	$57,000	$64,000	$46,000	0.65	0.72	0.57	0.64	0.72	0.56
2000	0.49	0.49	0.37	$52,000	$56,000	$46,000	0.74	0.78	0.68	0.69	0.75	0.63
2010	0.49	0.48	0.38	$58,000	$63,000	$55,000	0.71	0.75	0.67	0.68	0.73	0.65
CH 70-10	23%	-11%	23%	18%	-14%	45%	45%	29%	56%	74%	46%	91%

Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.

responding to push factors in the non-South or were under a call to home to the South (Stack 1996); however, their more recent counterparts are most likely moving to the South under the same pull experienced by primary migrants as opportunities grow in the region. It is clear that differences in Black locational attainment exist, and that Black non-South migrants far outpace the average Black resident in the South in accessing quality neighborhoods.

In using neighborhood median household income as an indicator of absolute neighborhood quality, the gap between Blacks and Whites is pronounced. Whites generally live in neighborhoods with higher median household income than Blacks in the South. By and large Whites have experienced higher locational attainment than Blacks across all categories, although their Black counterparts, specifically non-South migrants, have closed the gap significantly in their access to middle-class neighborhoods.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS - COMPARING WHITE AND BLACK NON-SOUTH MIGRANTS INTO MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS

Table 3 includes two sets of random effects regression models that focuses on the individual- and metropolitan-level factors that explains locational attainment of White and Black non-South migrants into middle-class neighborhoods. Only coefficients with a p-value of less than .10 will be discussed the current and subsequent sections. The models in this section have overall R^2 values that range from .311 to .382 (for Whites) and .28 to .39 (for Blacks); the between R^2 values range from .766 to .894 (for Whites) and .469 to .813 (for Blacks); and the within R^2 values range from .0711 to .123 (for Whites) and .13 to .161 (for Blacks).

According to Table 3, for both Blacks and Whites, primary migrants are more likely to achieve locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods than return migrants. Yet, for White primary migrants, this finding is in contrast to locational attainment into White

neighborhoods where these migrants are not significantly different from return migrants (analysis not shown – see Appendix Table 1). In other words, there are no significant differences between White primary and White return migrants in accessing White neighborhoods. Like middle-class neighborhoods, Black primary migrants are more likely to access White neighborhoods than Black return migrants (analysis not shown – see Appendix Table 1).

As it relates to marital status, gender and age, individuals who are married achieve higher locational attainment than individuals who are not married for Black and White non-South migrants. And for Blacks and Whites, males are generally more likely to achieve higher locational attainment than females in non-South migration. Age shows contrasting effects for Whites and Blacks. As age increases for White non-South migrants, so does their ability to access middle-class neighborhoods, while this effect tapers off at extreme ages. In contrast, however, Blacks show no significant effects between age and access into middle-class neighborhoods.

In the examination of individual socioeconomic indicators of college education, household income, and PMT occupation, Black non-South migrants experience positive and consistent effects in locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods. For Blacks, in regards to metropolitan economic context, there are positive effects between the size of the metropolitan PMT sector and accessing middle-class neighborhoods while other industries do not show consistent effects. Further, metropolitan racial residential segregation is found to continue to play an insidious role in keeping Blacks out of middle-class neighborhoods despite the distance of their move. As a consequence of residential segregation, Black non-South migrants generally experience negative correlative effects in accessing middle-class neighborhoods between 1980 and 2010.

TABLE 3: RANDOM EFFECT REGRESSION HLM MODEL PREDICTING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT NON-SOUTH TO SOUTH MOVERS INTO MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS BY RACE, 1970-2010

	WHITES				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Long Distance (Return=0; Primary=1)	0.0514***	0.0190***	0.0231***	0.0129***	0.0298***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Sex	0.0418***	0.0327***	0.0310***	-0.0113***	-0.0102
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Marital Status	0.155***	0.128***	0.109***	0.158***	0.166***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Age	0.266***	0.190***	0.0632***	0.154***	-0.0495
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Age^2	-0.246***	-0.189***	-0.0550***	-0.193***	0.0289
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05
High School	0.255***	0.178***	0.263***	0.120***	0.111***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Some College	0.419***	0.335***	0.407***	0.278***	0.267***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
College Education+	0.564***	0.542***	0.611***	0.489***	0.505***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.0946***	0.0443***	0.000821	0.158***	0.125***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Manufacturing Occupation	-0.0199***	-0.0291***	-0.0347***	0.0104*	0.0027
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
PMT Occupation	0.176***	0.160***	0.183***	0.162***	0.112***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Service Occupation	-0.0599***	-0.0189*	0.0147***	-0.0057	-0.0189
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Military Occupation	0.0917***	0.0421***	0.204***	0.0967***	0.191***
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05
Public Sector Occupation	-0.0649***	-0.0744***	-0.0887***	-0.0809***	-0.0562**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02
SUBREGIONAL VARIABLES					
Inner South (South Atlantic=base)	0.0418	0.0138	-0.105***	-0.0172	0.0697
	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.05
Texas (South Atlantic=base)	0.0439	0.0917	0.000847	0.123***	0.159*
	0.08	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.08
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.200***	0.184***	0.193***	0.0815***	-0.00581
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.05
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.142***	-0.0319*	0.000809	0.0405***	0.02
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
New Housing (<10years)	-0.0941	0.0291	-0.105***	-0.0153	0.0225
	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Homeownership	0.00266	0.0367*	-0.0193	0.0147	0.00737
	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05
Pct Military Sector	0.00539	0.0293	0.0594***	0.0306***	0.0106

	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Manufacturing Sector	-0.0161	-0.01	-0.0447***	0.0407***	-0.001
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03
Pct Public Sector	-0.0366	-0.00804	-0.0474***	-0.022	-0.00192
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Pct PMT Sector	0.226***	0.320***	0.422***	0.359***	0.202***
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Service Sector	-0.0534*	-0.0221	-0.0610***	0.0065	-0.000453
	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
Pct Unemployment	-0.112***	0.0834**	-0.0336**	-0.0111	0.0425
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.04
Pct Poverty	-0.0565**	-0.127***	0.0101	0.0393**	-0.000728
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	0.0364*	0.0299	0.0253	-0.0114	0.00147
	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Diversity Index	-0.0701*	0.0703*	-0.0127	-0.0484**	0.102**
	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.05
Pct Wht Population	-0.142***	-0.0752***	-0.0389**	-0.0477**	0.117
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.08
Pct Asian Population	0.408	-0.117	-0.430***	-0.244***	-0.269**
	0.27	0.11	0.07	0.05	0.11
Pct Hispanic Population	-0.0718***	-0.258***	-0.04	-0.0721***	-0.0134
	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.04
Pct Wht College Educ Population	-0.0764***	-0.138***	-0.143***	-0.0983***	0.0582
	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.06
Pct Wht High Income Population (>50k)	0.0627	0.182***	0.273***	0.317***	0.314***
	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.06
Constant	-0.182*	-0.402***	-0.344***	-0.393***	-0.580***
	0.11	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.06
Observations	116000	102000	334000	275000	16000
Number of MAs	109	147	148	148	136
r2 - Overall	0.378	0.366	0.364	0.382	0.311
r2 - Between MAs	0.823	0.766	0.868	0.894	0.827
r2 - Within MAs	0.123	0.0711	0.093	0.12	0.0953
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					

	BLACKS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Long Distance (Return=0; Primary=1)	0.0631***	0.0709***	0.0751***	0.0421***	0.0575***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Sex	0.0289**	0.0267***	0.0142***	0.00893**	0.00784
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Marital Status	0.292***	0.270***	0.250***	0.236***	0.168***
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Age	-0.014	-0.0563	-0.0271	0.0352	0.0483
	0.07	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.11
Age^2	0.0182	0.0622	0.0603**	0.0137	0.0199
	0.08	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.12

High School	0.0415	0.131***	0.197***	0.119***	0.189***
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.06
Some College	0.171***	0.228***	0.313***	0.242***	0.342***
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.06
College Education+	0.320***	0.459***	0.478***	0.443***	0.440***
	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.07
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.148***	0.179***	0.0541***	0.169***	0.205***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0447	0.0244	0.0123	0.0565***	0.0275
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.07
PMT Occupation	0.178***	0.211***	0.173***	0.170***	0.0563
	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Service Occupation	0.0600*	-0.0351	0.0215*	0.000361	-0.0199
	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.05
Military Occupation	0.491***	0.249***	0.231***	0.207***	0.0517
	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.11
Public Sector Occupation	0.0591*	-0.000106	0.0322***	-0.00233	0.0994**
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05
SUBREGIONAL VARIABLES					
Inner South (South Atlantic=base)	-0.0832	-0.0793	-0.192***	-0.182***	0.175*
	0.09	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.09
Texas (South Atlantic=base)	0.0285	-0.169*	-0.083	-0.108*	-0.0454
	0.14	0.09	0.06	0.06	0.15
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.0704	0.151***	0.218***	0.0433	0.173**
	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.09
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.00948	-0.0344	-0.0154	-0.022	0.123**
	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.05
New Housing (<10years)	0.113	0.0183	-0.0700***	0.0301	0.0852
	0.14	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.05
Pct Homeownership	0.0347	0.0881**	0.0323	0.107***	0.0447
	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.08
Pct Military Sector	-0.0934**	-0.0948**	0.00467	-0.00405	0.0253
	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.0499	-0.0838***	-0.0326*	-0.0235	0.129**
	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Public Sector	0.146**	0.0632	0.00257	0.0112	0.068
	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.07
Pct PMT Sector	0.0152	0.0634**	0.165***	0.0988***	0.283***
	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.08
Pct Service Sector	-0.0985**	-0.00995	-0.0108	0.00953	0.007
	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.05
Pct Unemployment	0.0565	0.110**	0.0580***	0.00798	-0.0493
	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Poverty	-0.145***	-0.127***	-0.0873***	-0.00422	0.0146
	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.06
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.0295	-0.128***	-0.114***	-0.0418*	-0.0973
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.06
Diversity Index	0.0425	0.0852*	-0.0309	0.0735***	0.0753
	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.07
Pct Blk Population	-0.0491	-0.0818**	-0.0177	-0.0923***	-0.0193

	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Asian Population	0.546*	0.0986	0.184**	-0.129*	-0.059
	0.29	0.13	0.08	0.07	0.19
Pct Hispanic Population	0.0395	-0.0146	-0.0113	-0.0548*	0.0404
	0.03	0.12	0.03	0.03	0.06
Pct Blk College Educ Population	0.00797	0.0404	-0.0172	0.0765***	-0.0481
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Blk High Income Population (>50k)	-0.0112	0.0518	0.0938**	0.0880**	0.149*
	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.08
Constant	-0.0552	0.00486	0.178***	0.0244	-0.119
	0.15	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.10
Observations	6000	10000	40000	41000	2000
Number of MAs	105	143	148	148	120
r2 - Overall	0.327	0.297	0.39	0.302	0.28
r2 - Between MAs	0.469	0.517	0.813	0.753	0.574
r2 - Within MAs	0.161	0.13	0.143	0.151	0.136
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					

Like Blacks, Whites also experience positive and consistent effects college education, household income, and PMT occupation. They also experience a positive effect from the metropolitan PMT sector, and no effects from other industry sectors in locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods. Still, for Whites, the effect of the metropolitan PMT sector is a stronger predictor for White access into middle-class neighborhoods compared to other neighborhood predictors when compared to Blacks. Still, for Blacks and Whites, the type of jobs available, specifically PMT jobs, in the metropolitan area plays a significant role in explaining locational attainment for non-South migrants. As well, unlike Blacks, as it relates to racial residential segregation, Whites show no significant effects between segregation and locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods

The effect of the same-race middle-class populations—college educated and high income—display mixed results for White and Black non-South migrants. Table 3 shows White non-South migrants are generally negatively affected by the size of the metropolitan White

college educated population in accessing middle-class neighborhoods. The metropolitan White high-income population however is strongly correlated with access to middle-class neighborhoods for these same White migrants. For Whites, one would expect both the metropolitan White high-income and college-educated populations to be positive predictors of locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods. However, the differential effect can be possibly attributed to the White college-educated populations being priced out of middle-class neighborhoods.

For Blacks, the size of the metropolitan Black college educated population shows inconsistent effects in helping Blacks to access middle-class neighborhoods. This effect is only positive and significant in 2000. Similar to Whites, a larger Black high-income population positively affects access to middle-class neighborhoods for Black non-South migrants between 1990-2010. In an additional analysis, which looks at locational attainment in middle class neighborhoods for Black primary and Black return migrants separately (analysis not shown), the metropolitan Black high-income population increases access to middle-class neighborhoods for Black return migrants between 1990-2010, while Black primary migrants only show significant effects in 2000. The effect of the same-group high-income population is a more robust predictor of access into middle-class neighborhoods for Whites compared to Blacks. This suggests that Blacks do not receive a similar advantage from a strong same-group middle-class presence, as do Whites, when accessing middle-class neighborhoods.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS - COMPARING NON-SOUTH MIGRANTS INTO SAME-GROUP MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS

Table 4 uses random-effects regression models to explore the relationship between individual- and metropolitan-level indicators and access to same-race middle-class

neighborhoods for Whites and Blacks. Specifically, these two neighborhoods could be described as White middle-class neighborhoods and Black middle-class neighborhoods for each respective group. Only coefficients with a p-value of less than .10 will be discussed the current and subsequent sections. The models in this section have overall R^2 values that range from .36 to .434 (for Whites) and .279 to .376 (for Blacks); the between R^2 values range from .773 to .912 (for Whites) and .504 to .787 (for Blacks); and the within R^2 values range from .0797 to .131 (for Whites) and .139 to .208 (for Blacks).

According to Table 4, Whites show similar effects in accessing both middle-class and White middle-class neighborhoods, specifically as it relates to the migrant advantage of primary compared to return migrants and the positive effects of individual socioeconomic characteristics. Like middle-class neighborhoods, the metropolitan White high-income population is positive and significant in accessing White middle-class neighborhoods, while the size of the White college educated population is still generally negative.[16] The metropolitan PMT sector also shows a very strong positive effect for White non-South migrants in predicting access into White middle-class neighborhoods. Whites continue to achieve the highest locational attainment when they find themselves in metropolitan areas with a strong economic context and larger same-group middle-class presence.

Black primary migrants continue to experience an advantage over return migrants in accessing Black middle-class neighborhoods compared to middle-class neighborhoods. And like middle-class neighborhoods, Black non-South migrants also experience strong individual

[16] In 2010 however, the effect of White college education on White middle class access is small but positive.

TABLE 4: RANDOM EFFECT REGRESSION HLM MODEL PREDICTING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT NON-SOUTH TO SOUTH MOVERS INTO SAME RACE MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS BY RACE, 1970-2010

	WHITES INTO WHITE MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Long Distance (Return=0; Primary=1)	0.0501***	0.0207***	0.0212***	0.0133***	0.0227***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Sex	0.0389***	0.0242***	0.0292***	-0.00897***	-0.00623
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Marital Status	0.147***	0.0974***	0.110***	0.114***	0.114***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age	0.259***	0.220***	0.165***	0.0864***	-0.0601
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Age^2	-0.244***	-0.228***	-0.159***	-0.137***	0.0106
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
High School	0.259***	0.175***	0.287***	0.132***	0.0935***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
Some College	0.426***	0.341***	0.441***	0.303***	0.250***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
College Education+	0.569***	0.564***	0.664***	0.529***	0.509***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.0932***	0.0397***	0.0114***	0.148***	0.115***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Manufacturing Occupation	-0.0219***	-0.0343***	-0.0321***	-0.00529	-0.0122
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
PMT Occupation	0.172***	0.152***	0.177***	0.179***	0.125***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Service Occupation	-0.0600***	-0.0143	0.00519	0.00832	-0.00928
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Military Occupation	0.0621***	-0.0473***	0.139***	0.0819***	0.0977**
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.05
Public Sector Occupation	-0.0596***	-0.0773***	-0.100***	-0.0828***	-0.0486**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02
SUBREGIONAL VARIABLES					
Inner South (South Atlantic=base)	0.0187	-0.00759	-0.0386	-0.0635***	0.0617
	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.05
Texas (South Atlantic=base)	0.0853	0.00926	-0.0605	0.0493	0.183**
	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.09
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.180***	0.0496*	0.00115	0.0590***	0.00565
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.05
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.144***	-0.0781***	-0.0284**	0.0451***	0.0254
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
New Housing (<10years)	-0.105	0.0514***	-0.0351***	0.0144	0.0193
	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Homeownership	-0.00799	0.0142	-0.0881***	-0.00755	0.00602
	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.06
Pct Military Sector	0.0186	0.0562**	0.0325***	0.0469***	0.00622
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.000035	0.0233	-0.0239*	0.0503***	-0.00266

	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Public Sector	-0.0453	-0.0761***	-0.0702***	-0.0653***	-0.0149
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Pct PMT Sector	0.223***	0.353***	0.369***	0.436***	0.174***
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Service Sector	-0.0560**	-0.0406*	-0.0954***	0.0127	0.00279
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Unemployment	-0.0477	0.0107	-0.0413***	0.0249*	0.0485
	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.04
Pct Poverty	-0.0574***	-0.0981***	-0.0305**	0.0520***	0.0469
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	0.0152	0.0474*	0.0171	-0.0377**	-0.0489
	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Diversity Index	-0.0215	0.0537	0.151***	-0.00513	0.134***
	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.05
Pct Wht Population	-0.180***	-0.214***	-0.0618***	-0.0706***	0.107
	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.08
Pct Asian Population	0.0351	-0.0827	-0.328***	-0.294***	-0.358***
	0.25	0.10	0.06	0.05	0.12
Pct Hispanic Population	-0.0806***	-0.206***	0.0206	-0.0633***	-0.0481
	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.04
Pct Wht College Educ Population	-0.0243	-0.104***	-0.0392	-0.105***	0.121**
	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.06
Pct Wht High Income Population (>50k)	0.0409	0.130***	0.165***	0.337***	0.376***
	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.06
Constant	-0.232**	-0.374***	-0.398***	-0.379***	-0.541***
	0.10	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.06
Observations	116000	102000	334000	275000	16000
Number of MAs	109	147	148	148	136
r2 - Overall	0.418	0.4	0.391	0.434	0.36
r2 - Between MAs	0.853	0.773	0.901	0.912	0.846
r2 - Within MAs	0.131	0.0797	0.104	0.13	0.0998
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					

	BLACKS INTO BLACK MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Long Distance (Return=0; Primary=1)	0.0492***	0.0742***	0.0658***	0.0442***	0.0374**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Sex	0.00585	0.0177*	0.00730*	0.00648	0.00611
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Marital Status	0.212***	0.224***	0.234***	0.242***	0.150***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Age	0.133**	-0.00668	-0.0256	-0.0288	0.0846
	0.07	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.11
Age^2	-0.146**	0.00378	0.0584*	0.0692**	-0.027

	0.07	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.12
High School	0.0913***	0.166***	0.202***	0.162***	0.192***
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.06
Some College	0.203***	0.282***	0.316***	0.291***	0.345***
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.06
College Education+	0.386***	0.462***	0.448***	0.456***	0.365***
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.07
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.182***	0.259***	0.0796***	0.171***	0.208***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0216	-0.04	0.00523	0.0348**	-0.000242
	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.07
PMT Occupation	0.248***	0.289***	0.216***	0.215***	0.197***
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Service Occupation	0.0283	-0.0052	0.00731	0.00747	-0.0233
	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.05
Military Occupation	0.345***	0.286***	0.245***	0.227***	0.15
	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.11
Public Sector Occupation	0.00631	-0.0161	0.0510***	0.00893	0.0930*
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05
SUBREGIONAL VARIABLES					
Inner South (South Atlantic=base)	0.0753	-0.0632	-0.233***	-0.159***	0.0797
	0.12	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.12
Texas (South Atlantic=base)	0.0136	0.0448	0.0737	-0.0174	-0.19
	0.18	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.19
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.173**	0.244***	0.310***	0.175***	0.300***
	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.11
Percent Age 65+ years	0.0061	-0.0427*	0.0251	0.0243	0.0841
	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
New Housing (<10years)	0.083	-0.0405	-0.106***	-0.0392	0.140**
	0.18	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.07
Pct Homeownership	-0.0144	0.0952**	0.161***	0.165***	-0.164
	0.11	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.10
Pct Military Sector	-0.133**	-0.135***	0.0406	0.0978***	-0.0177
	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.05
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.0325	-0.0835***	-0.0285	0.00384	0.0928
	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.07
Pct Public Sector	0.118	0.157***	0.0303	-0.0223	0.0398
	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.08
Pct PMT Sector	-0.0461	-0.0658**	0.0505	0.171***	-0.0399
	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.09

Pct Service Sector	-0.0718	0.0435	0.0733***	0.0205	0.0341
	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06
Pct Unemployment	-0.115*	0.138**	-0.00533	0.014	-0.170**
	0.06	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.08
Pct Poverty	-0.0859	-0.101***	-0.0265	-0.0106	-0.0784
	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.08
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	0.0218	0.0145	-0.0676**	0.0264	-0.0124
	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.07
Diversity Index	-0.00594	0.0437	-0.171***	-0.119***	0.0237
	0.06	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.08
Pct Blk Population	-0.0615	-0.138***	0.0485*	0.0305	-0.0304
	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.08
Pct Asian Population	1.615***	-0.239*	0.320***	-0.0371	0.0107
	0.36	0.14	0.11	0.08	0.25
Pct Hispanic Population	0.0843**	0.177	0.0431	0.0828**	-0.0122
	0.04	0.13	0.04	0.03	0.08
Pct Blk College Educ Population	-0.0196	0.0477	0.0531**	0.0816***	0.106
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.07
Pct Blk High Income Population (>50k)	-0.00755	0.0845**	0.176***	0.163***	0.16
	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.10
Constant	0.0873	-0.0228	0.203***	0.0282	-0.1
	0.19	0.11	0.07	0.06	0.13
Observations	6000	10000	40000	41000	2000
Number of MAs	105	143	148	148	120
r2 - Overall	0.373	0.307	0.36	0.376	0.279
r2 - Between MAs	0.504	0.542	0.666	0.787	0.544
r2 - Within MAs	0.208	0.162	0.161	0.163	0.139
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					

socioeconomic effects in accessing Black middle-class neighborhoods. As well, in contrast to locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods, Blacks do not experience any positive advantage of the metropolitan PMT sector when accessing Black middle-class neighborhoods. This difference may support the conclusion that Black middle-class neighborhood formation is not supported by the metropolitan economic context.

Table 4 shows that for Black non-South migrants, the metropolitan population size is a positive predictor of locational attainment into same-group middle-class neighborhoods. The increasing size of the metropolitan homeownership population has positive effects on Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods (1980-2000). And Blacks do not experience any consistent negative effects from racial residential segregation in accessing Black middle-class neighborhoods, which is in contrast to obstacles experienced in their access of middle-class neighborhoods. Unlike Blacks, the metropolitan population size is positive but inconsistent predictor of White locational attainment into White middle class neighborhoods. As well like Blacks, Whites do not experience any consistent effects from residential segregation in accessing White middle-class neighborhoods. This lack of effect is similar to that found between residential segregation and White access into middle-class neighborhoods.

The size of the metropolitan Black middle-class populations—Black college educated and Black high-income—show general positive effects for Blacks in accessing Black middle-class neighborhoods. The metropolitan Black college educated population shows positive effects in 1990 and 2000 while slightly missing significance in 2010 (.11). As well, the metropolitan Black high-income population shows positive effects between 1980 and 2000, while also slightly missing significance in 2010 (.11). In contrast, like middle-class neighborhoods, Whites show a general negative relationship between the size of the metropolitan White college educated population and accessing White middle-class neighborhoods. Whites also experience positive effects from metropolitan White high-income population in locational attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods.

Together, these findings illustrate that Blacks experience greater advantage from the size of the Black middle-class population in accessing Black middle-class neighborhoods compared to Whites in accessing White middle class neighborhoods. Blacks gain additional advantage

from the size of the metropolitan Black college educated population in the possible formation of Black middle-class neighborhoods. Whites in contrast may experience negative effects from the White college-educated population possibly due to over saturation in the metropolitan housing market, and being priced out of these more exclusive quality neighborhoods.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Little research tells us whether Blacks have been able to access quality neighborhoods under non-South to South migration, and most locational attainment studies pay little attention to the larger role that the South might play in promoting Black upward spatial mobility in the post-Civil Rights era. This study made three primary findings. First, the South has experienced tremendous Black middle-class growth between 1970 and 2010, and especially so in the South Atlantic and Texas compared to the Inner South. And while there are no significant differences in the types of neighborhood experienced by White migrants and non-migrants, Black migrants live in higher quality neighborhoods than Black non-migrants. This finding lends support to the importance of the Black primary and return migrations on locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods in the South. Second, the spatial assimilation model, when considering individual socioeconomic status, is accurate in explaining locational attainment for Black and White primary and return migrants. As well, primary migrants experience stronger locational attainment than return migrants. In contrast, the place-stratification perspective, in light of metropolitan factors like racial residential segregation, provides a better explanation of the divergence in locational attainment experienced between these groups. Finally, for Blacks, the minority culture of mobility model provides an important explanation of the role of the metropolitan Black middle-class population in locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods as characterized by exposure to Black middle-class residents. In this case, unlike the spatial assimilation and place-stratification models, the MCM model supports the Black

middle-class neighborhood as a neighborhood of advantage.

This study found that there exists subregional differences in the size of the Black college educated and Black high-income populations. Specifically, the majority of the top ten metropolitan areas comprising college-educated and high-income Blacks are located in the South Atlantic States and Texas. In the Inner South States, these groups are largely under-represented, confirming findings of the MDC (2002, 2010, 2011). In the South as a whole, Blacks are increasingly living in better quality neighborhoods, as measured by proportion White, homeownership, professional, management and technical occupation, median household income and college education. And, while fewer Blacks are living in all-Black neighborhoods over time, Blacks have shown growth in accessing middle-class neighborhoods, both White and Black middle-class neighborhoods. Altogether, these observations suggest that the South is experiencing disproportionate subregional growth but overall the region is exhibiting new neighborhood dynamics for Blacks.

As it relates to the effect of non-South to South migration on locational attainment, there are no significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in locational attainment for Whites, which is in stark contrast for Blacks. Whites are able to access highest quality neighborhoods in the South irrespective of whether they are non-South to South migrants or not. Blacks migrants from the non-South, achieve better locational attainment than Blacks who movers within the South. More specifically, the locational attainment of Black return migrants has changed over time. The earliest Black return migrants experienced lower locational attainment than their more recent counterparts. This is most likely the case due to early return migrants responding to push factors in the non-South or pull-factors associated with a call to home. But now, more recent Black return migrants appear to undergo their migration to the South for reasons similar to Black primary migrants—in search of opportunities.

This study also illustrates that for both Blacks and Whites, primary migrants are more likely than return migrants to achieve locational attainment into both middle-class and same-group middle-class neighborhoods. In accordance with the spatial assimilation model, individual socioeconomic status matters, including college education, professional occupation and housing income for both Black and White non-South migrants in predicting locational attainment into both middle-class and same-race middle-class neighborhoods. Thus, this study strongly suggests that individual socioeconomic indicators do predict Black non-South migrant access into middle-class neighborhood types.

The spatial assimilation model however falls short in predicting Black access to quality neighborhoods when one considers metropolitan-level factors, and this finding is supported by a recent study (Pais et al 2012). For instance, although for Blacks and Whites, the size of the PMT sector and the size of the same-race high income population do predict greater access into middle-class neighborhoods, racial residential segregation still prevents Blacks from accessing these neighborhoods. Thus, the place-stratification model better captures the obstacles that Blacks confront in accessing quality neighborhoods under conditions of racial residential segregation. Whites in contrast show no significant effect from racial residential segregation in accessing middle-class neighborhoods.

When considering locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, neither the spatial assimilation model nor the place stratification perspective explains Black access into these specialized areas. The spatial assimilation model does not account for Black selection of Black middle-class neighborhoods as an option of upward mobility nor does the place stratification perspective consider a Black middle-class neighborhood as a neighborhood of advantage as opposed to a byproduct of racial residential segregation. This study finds similar effects from individual socioeconomic characteristics in Black access to middle class and Black

middle class neighborhoods. But, the size of the metropolitan Black middle-class population shows a greater effect in explaining Black access to Black middle class neighborhoods over middle class neighborhoods. Furthermore, racial residential segregation does not impact Black access to Black middle class neighborhoods while it affects their access into middle-class neighborhoods. These results suggest that when a metropolitan area exhibits a sizeable Black middle class population that Blacks will form and occupy neighborhoods with a visible Black middle class. This finding supports the minority culture of mobility model that suggests that Blacks may seek access to Black middle-class neighborhoods when available to circumvent challenges of individual- and institutional-racism that may be faced at the neighborhood level. And it may support the notion that Blacks are able to achieve upward mobility outside of mainstream neighborhoods similar to other ethnic groups.

Additional research is needed to understand the hierarchy of neighborhood selection for high socioeconomic Blacks. Although this study finds support that Blacks do, in fact, select Black middle-class neighborhoods when a Black middle-class population is present, it cannot say for certain that Blacks select Black middle-class neighborhoods over other neighborhood types. Further exploration is needed to understand if Black movers select Black middle-class neighborhoods over alternative quality neighborhoods or if there are barriers to accessing alternative neighborhoods. This study also does not measure whether Black middle-class neighborhoods are similar in quality to White middle-class neighborhoods or middle-class neighborhoods in general. Further research must be conducted to understand the quality of amenities, services, and resources that exist across these different neighborhood types.

The minority culture of mobility model, which suggests that high socioeconomic Blacks may express their preference for Black middle-class neighborhoods due to conditions of institutional- and individual-racism, would argue that, when available, Blacks would choose high

quality neighborhoods with strong representative Black populations. The spatial assimilation and place stratification models do account for Black selection of neighborhoods that are either predominately White or middle-class, but these models do not account for neighborhoods that are both Black and middle-class. While more research is needed to investigate Black middle-class neighborhood selection and quality, this study demonstrates that there is relationship, at least for Black non-South migrants, between the size of the metropolitan Black middle-class population and their access to Black middle-class neighborhoods.

Certainly, while there are also other possible locational attainment indicators, including stricter middle-class neighborhood ones, the middle-class indicator that is used in this study, albeit conservative, was able to show that Black non-south migrants are finding themselves in quality neighborhoods when they locate in the South. Future research should explore stricter definitions of the middle-class to further explore Black access to quality neighborhoods. Future inquiries using the locational attainment model should find alternative ways to better proxy for neighborhood quality in a more diverse and changing America.

7. DISCLAIMER

"Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Census Bureau. All results have been reviewed to ensure that no confidential information is disclosed."

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BLACK LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT INTO BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA, 1970-2010

ABSTRACT

Using confidential Decennial Census 1970-2000 and American Community Survey 2006-2010 data, this research tests the spatial assimilation, place-stratification, and minority culture of mobility models to determine which model better explains the locational attainment of Blacks into Black middle-class neighborhoods. The study also compares the results of locational attainment for Blacks, as compared to Whites, living in metropolitan areas in the U.S. The present study makes three key findings. First, for Whites, there are distinct differences between locational attainment into White neighborhoods compared to White middle-class neighborhoods. White middle-class neighborhood as a more desirable neighborhood condition implies the necessary use of neighborhood indicators that intersect both race and class characteristics. Second, although individual socioeconomic status matters in locational attainment for both Black and White movers, metropolitan conditions better explain divergent locational attainment between the groups. Third, an increasing metropolitan Black middle-class is a strong determinant of Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods. This study finds that neither the spatial assimilation model nor the place-stratification perspective can explain locational attainment of Black movers into Black middle-class neighborhoods. In lieu of these theoretical frameworks, the minority culture of mobility model provides the best fitting explanation for movement into Black middle-class neighborhoods.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Black middle-class neighborhood continues to be ignored as a representation of

neighborhood quality for Blacks in the United States. The dominant theoretical frameworks in the spatial assimilation model and place stratification perspective do not conceptualize Black middle-class neighborhoods as spaces of neighborhood quality. Moreover, although the minority culture of mobility model, which is a fairly recently constructed theoretical framework, provides the best conceptualization of Black middle-class neighborhoods as places of locational attainment, it still lacks empirical testing. The present study provides an empirical test of the minority culture of mobility model, in addition to the spatial assimilation and place stratification models, in order to broaden the understanding of Black locational attainment in a changing U.S. To date, locational attainment studies have yet to examine the conditions that promote Black access to Black middle-class neighborhoods in light of the growing Black middle-class in the U.S. since 1970. This study asks, what metropolitan factors explain Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods in the post-Civil Rights era? Do the same factors that explain locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods also explain locational attainment into White neighborhoods?

The present study advances the research of locational attainment in three key ways. First, to my knowledge, most demographic studies have not yet drawn on confidential Census micro-data for their investigations. And most investigations of locational attainment, due to the lack of available data, have not focused on locational attainment in the post-Civil Rights era (Freeman 2008). The present study utilizes confidential micro-data from the Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 and the American Community Survey (ACS) 2006-2010 to take a comprehensive look at locational attainment for the Black population in the U.S. This study uses micro-data at the individual level to examine mobility and locational attainment and examines a host of individual- and metropolitan-level predictors.

Second, prior locational attainment studies have used the key neighborhood indicator of

the percent White population to represent spatial assimilation of minority populations. Scholars have argued that although middle-class Blacks do integrate more with Whites than do impoverished Blacks, the socioeconomic status of the Whites that they integrate with are on average lower than that of middle-class Whites (Adelman 2004, 2005; Alba et al 2000; Friedman et al 2014). Key studies have shown that Asians and Hispanics are accessing quality neighborhoods while bypassing "whiter" neighborhoods (Adelman et al. 2001). And although Blacks have yet to show the same outcome, Blacks' desire to move into White neighborhoods might be on the decline in the post-Civil Rights era, and questions have arisen as to whether this indicator of neighborhood quality is meaningful for this group (Freeman 2008). To address this issue, I construct a middle-class neighborhood indicator using the confidential micro-data to examine the conditions that might promote Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods. This variable interacts both class and racial characteristics in its representation of a new meaningful locational attainment variable.

Third, we still know little about the extent to which Blacks with socioeconomic resources select Black middle-class neighborhoods (Anderson forthcoming, 1) because alternative frameworks of neighborhood selection, outside of the influence of residential segregation, are rarely tested (Neckerman et al 1999). In using the neighborhood proportion of the Black middle-class as a neighborhood quality indicator, this study offers a direct test of the effects of individual- and metropolitan-predictors on a neighborhood predictor which intersects race and class. In addition to testing individual and metropolitan variable predictors of location into Black middle-class neighborhoods, this study tests whether or not Blacks, in their selection of Black middle-class neighborhoods, do so when there exists a sizable presence of Black middle-class members in the greater metropolitan area. I also analyze Whites under the same conditions as a point of comparison. Generally, the use of alternative neighborhood quality

definitions has not been examined previously due to the lack of available individual-level data. For instance, it is this data that allows for the construction of neighborhood definitions that interest both race and class characteristics.

The paper will begin with a background on locational attainment and Black middle-class neighborhoods. It will then follow with a discussion of the following theoretical frameworks: the spatial assimilation model, the place-stratification perspective, and the minority culture of mobility model. It will provide an explanation of the confidential Census data, outline the methods used to conduct the study's research, and provide a detailed explanation of how the included neighborhood indicators are measured. And the final sections will present the results of the analysis and provide a discussion and conclusion of its major findings.

II. BACKGROUND

For Alba and Logan's early use of locational attainment, they measured neighborhood quality in two ways—suburban residence and the percentage White population. Measures of neighborhood quality are generally measured from a neighborhood advantage or a neighborhood disadvantage perspective. Neighborhood advantage measures include suburban residence (Alba and Logan 1991; Alba and Logan 1993), proportion White population or racially integrated neighborhood (Alba and Logan 1993; Alba, Logan and Stults 2000; Logan, Alba, McNulty, and Fisher 1996; Woldoff 2008; Freeman 2008; Holloway, Ellis and Wright 2013; Pais et al 2012), median household income or average family income (Alba, Logan, and Stults 2000; Logan, Alba, McNulty, and Fisher 1996; Woldoff 2008; Pais et al 2012) or education level (Adelman, Tsao, Tolnay and Crowder 2001). Other advantage measures have included property values (Harris 1999; Woldodd and Ovadia 2009; Freeman 2008) and homeownership rates (Alba and Logan, 1992; Flippen 2001).

In contrast, some scholars have relied on neighborhood disadvantage as their locational attainment measure. These measures include the use of crime rates (Alba et al 1994; Crowder et al 2001), percent of female-headed households (Adelman, Tsao, Tolnay and Crowder 2001; Crowder et al 2001), poverty rates (Adelman, Tsao, Tolnay and Crowder 2001; Freeman 2008; Swisher et al 2013) and percent of Black males unemployed (Crowder et al 2001). Rosenbaum and Friedman (2001) relied on alternative disadvantaged measures in their study of the assimilation of immigrant households in New York City utilizing the juvenile detention rate, teenager fertility rate, percentage of students in local public elementary schools who score below grade level in math, and the percentage of persons receiving AFDC[17].

The locational attainment approach began with Alba and Logan's (1992) case study of the NY metropolitan area. They examined the relationship between individual characteristics in access to more racially integrated neighborhoods. Since then scholars have examined a wide range of U.S. metropolitan areas, while considering the importance of both individual- and metropolitan-level characteristics (Pais et al 2012; South et al 2011; Iceland 2013; Timberlake and Iceland 2007). The locational attainment approach remains important in understanding how individual members of society have been able to convert their individual socioeconomic resources into access to better neighborhoods.

Although the neighborhood White percentage has been used an indicator of minority access to resources, it is not clear that living in a White neighborhood is desired by minority group members. Scholars generally find the association between Black individual SES and access to quality neighborhoods, as measured by the proportion of Whites in the neighborhood, to be weak or non-existent. The question is whether or not the neighborhood White proportion

[17] Aid to Families with Dependent Children

as an indicator of neighborhood quality has a meaningful return for minority groups? In fact, it has been determined that Asians and Hispanics are bypassing "whiter" neighborhoods for quality neighborhoods among co-ethnics (Alba, Logan and Stults 2000). Freeman (2008) argues that Blacks' desire to integrate with Whites may be on the decline since 1970. Further, he suggests that the rise in the Black middle-class in this post-Civil Rights era may encourage Blacks to self-select alternative neighborhoods that are higher quality and not majority White. For Blacks, with the growth of the Black middle-class, new alternative neighborhoods may be desired (Freeman 2008; Lacy 2007; Neckerman et al 1999; Sharkey 2014).

There have been a variety of definitions used to investigate the middle-class that have typically focused on at least one of the following: occupation, income, and education. As it relates to occupation, Landry distinguishes professionals, managers, and small business owners as the upper middle-class (1987). Lacy (2007) also makes a similar distinction between the Black upper or stable middle-class and the lower middle-class. However, she also includes in her definition college education, household income of a $100k, and homeownership. Oliver and Shapiro (1995) define the middle-class using white-collar jobs along with college education and income between $25k and $50k. Wilson (1978) uses a broader definition of middle-class that captures both white- and blue-collar workers. The present study relies on a conservative measure of middle-class based on the aforementioned studies to best define the Black middle-class. This middle-class variable construction uses income, education, and occupation measures and will be described in more detail in the Data and Methods section.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The two major theoretical frameworks, spatial assimilation and place stratification, have offered explanations for the differences in locational attainment for racial and ethnic groups.

The spatial assimilation model provides explanation for the relationship between individual resources and residential outcomes (Park 1925; Guest 1980; Alba and Logan 1991; Massey 1985). It contends that as an individual's socioeconomic resources—education, income (Alba and Logan 1991, 1993; Woldoff 2008), wealth (Crowder et al 2006, Woldoff 2008), and cultural assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993) increases, so will one's access to better neighborhoods. Thus, higher socioeconomic status will lead to residence into better quality neighborhoods. From this perspective, socioeconomic status is more influential to residential access than race or ethnic make-up. Generally, only Asians and Hispanics have been found to follow the tenets of the spatial assimilation model (Alba, Logan and Stults 2000), although within White racial groups there has been recent evidence that darker skinned immigrants are less able to spatially assimilate (Kasinitz et al 2008).

The place stratification perspective is a competing framework to the spatial assimilation model and suggests that race affects residential access as racial and ethnic minorities are less likely than Whites to translate socioeconomic status to neighborhood quality (Alba and Logan 1991). Thus, even when controlling for socioeconomic status, minorities live in lower quality neighborhoods than Whites. Individual and institutional racism continue to act as obstacles to Black access to quality neighborhoods (Pais et al 2012; Swisher et al 2013). There are two versions of the place stratification perspective. The first is the strong version of place stratification, which states that Blacks are less able than Whites to translate socioeconomic resources into locational attainment, and those Blacks that do move into better quality neighborhoods live in worse neighborhoods than their White counterparts (Logan and Alba 1993). The second is the weak version of place stratification that implies that minorities expend more socioeconomic resources to live in similar neighborhoods as Whites, due to higher costs of entry.

Alba and Logan (1991, 1992, 1993) proposed the locational attainment model approach in a series of papers to test the spatial assimilation model (Park 1925) against the newly developed place-stratification perspective (Alba and Logan 1991). Borne out of the spatial assimilation model, the locational attainment model assumes that individuals translate their socioeconomic resources into access into better neighborhoods. Specifically, the model relies on individual-level predictors as independent variables to understand an aggregate-level output as the dependent variable. Alba and Logan's (1991) first locational attainment study used Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) data to predict the probability of suburbanization in the U.S. They found that family status, socioeconomic status, and cultural assimilation were significant predictors of suburbanization. Later, Alba and Logan (1992) described a method for producing locational attainment studies that recognized the difficulty of finding appropriate individual- and aggregate-level data sets. Furthermore, these scholars examined spatial assimilation for Asians, Blacks, and Hispanics compared to Whites within the New York City suburban areas finding that while spatial assimilation explained locational attainment for Asians and Hispanics, it did not do so for Whites and Blacks (Alba and Logan 1993). Instead, the place stratification model better explained locational attainment for Whites and Blacks.

A third competing theoretical framework is the minority culture of mobility (MCM) model that states "there are a set of culture elements that is associated with a minority group, and that provides strategies for managing economic mobility in the context of discrimination and group disadvantage" (Neckerman et al 1999). And these strategies are used specifically for problems that arise at the intersection of being both middle-class and minority, such as interracial confrontation and interclass interactions. For Blacks, the MCM framework helps to explain the use of socioeconomic resources to access Black middle-class neighborhoods; yet, there is still limited empirical support of its theoretical advances. The MCM model argues that

Blacks may choose Black middle-class neighborhoods when available in response to conditions of racism and discrimination.

Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) argue that in-group preference could be a symptom of existing prejudices of other groups and should not necessarily be equated with the absence of individual or institutional discrimination in the housing market. Scholars have illustrated that Blacks are the least desired potential neighbors of Whites, Asians and Hispanics (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Charles 2000; Clark 2002), which significantly impacts their neighborhood outcomes. Preference outcomes are typically tested using data on neighborhood attitudes. The preference framework generally argues that individuals seek to locate into neighborhoods with a strong in-group presence. And preferences as an extension of ethnocentric social preference have been used as an explanation for the continued residential segregation between racial and ethnic groups (Clark 1986, 1992, 2002). The anti-out group affect argues that anti-Black stereotypes continue to drive a desire of non-Black groups to avoid areas with Black neighbors (Farley et al. 1978, 1994). Preference has been used to maintain relative status advantages in income, occupation, and life-style of non-Black groups over Blacks (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996).

Neckerman and colleagues (1999) also make a clear distinction between the culture of the Black middle-class and the White middle-class and Black lower and working classes. They state the problems that the Black middle-class individual faces are unique because they are more likely than lower class Blacks to interact in White neighborhoods and experience more discrimination in these neighborhoods. They also have to contend with a distinct set of class-related issues, such as feelings of social isolation when living in White neighborhoods. This may induce middle-class Blacks to seek protection from discrimination and social isolation by living in same-race middle-class neighborhoods. Although the present study cannot test neighborhood preference, it does provide insight into the micro- and macro-level conditions conducive to

Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods.

IV. DATA AND METHODS

To test the MCM model, I draw on multiple sources of data, including restricted Decennial Census and American Community Survey microdata. The confidential Census micro-data is a rich source of information that provides individual-level data of the U.S. population at the census-tract level of aggregation. The resource is similar to the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) that provides individual-level information at the PUMA level of aggregation whose boundaries include approximately 100,000 residents. All individuals that participated in the Decennial Census long-form and the American Community Surveys are included in the confidential microdata between 1970 and 2010.

For this study, I selected all non-Hispanic Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites over the age of 25 years who completed a long-form survey during Decennial Census periods 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 and ACS period 2006-2010. I further narrow the sample to only individuals that moved to focus the examination on the mobile population. Given the study's focus on metropolitan influences in the U.S., I only examine individuals that resided in a U.S. metropolitan area in any given time period. This selection criteria resulted in a robust sample over the full-range of census-defined metropolitan areas that are as large as nine hundred thousand cases for Blacks in 2000 and six million cases for Whites in 1990. In order to compare locational attainment of these groups over time, I analyze each of the five time periods independently. This sample differs from a previous study that explored locational attainment of White and Black non-South to South migrants in the post-Civil Rights period (Anderson forthcoming, 2). However, the expanded data sample used for this study, although it sacrifices nuances across type of mover, is able to speak to larger trends of Black locational attainment in

U.S. during the same period.

The data was structured to connect individual socioeconomic and sociodemographic indicators to respective neighborhood characteristics. The census tract is used to proxy for the neighborhood due to its widespread use in the locational attainment literature (e.g., Pais et al 2012), and is preferred in maximizing the richness of the Census microdata. Access to data resources that provide individual-level information at the neighborhood-level has proven difficult in the study of locational attainment (Alba and Logan 1992) making its use in the present study a valuable addition to the literature. In order to construct consistent metropolitan areas across the study period, I construct metropolitan areas from the counties that comprise them. County boundaries do not change between Decennial time periods although census tracts may do so.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: OPERATIONALIZING MIDDLE-CLASS

Previous research has relied on the use of multiple independent neighborhood quality measures, including the percentage White population, median household income or suburban residence. Some scholars have at best used single variables to capture neighborhood quality. The neighborhood percentage White variable has traditionally acted as a proxy to represent access to greater neighborhood resources for minorities (Alba and Logan 1993). Woldoff and Ovadia (2009) recently argued that their use of housing values as a neighborhood quality indicator captures several neighborhood quality elements simultaneously. Still, most measures have been unable to simultaneously capture both race and class due to the lack of available data at the individual-level to construct such a variable. In the present study, I construct a variable that measures exposure to a same-race middle class resident in a given neighborhood in order to test the minority culture of mobility model. This middle-class measure moves beyond previously

used locational attainment indicators, and its innovation is the result of access to individual-level Census micro-data at the tract-level.

Furthermore, the percentage of the White population has been used as measure of neighborhood quality. Although access to a more integrated space is associated with access to more neighborhood resources when compared to segregated spaces, this variable does not account for the class status of its residents. Generally, middle-class Blacks have been found to live in neighborhoods with a larger proportion of Whites; however, the White residents that middle-class live among have been found to be less affluent than those residing in middle-class White neighborhoods (Adelman 2004, 2005; Alba et al 2000; Friedman et al 2014).

In order to account for varying class attributes in a single neighborhood quality indicator, the present study first defines middle-class residents as those individuals who attained a college education, live in a household with income greater than $50,000, or are employed in a professional, management, and technical occupation. The study takes a conservative approach by characterizing as middle-class those individuals who exhibit any one of the aforementioned characteristics. The neighborhood percentage of middle-class individuals (over 25 years of age) compared to total residents (over 25 years of age) constitutes the neighborhood middle-class variable. The White middle-class and Black middle class variables are specifically capture exposure to same-race middle-class residents in a neighborhood. This exposure variable refers to the proportion of same-race middle class residents (over 25 years of age) compared to the total number of same-race residents (over 25 years of age) in the neighborhood, and are treated as percentages of White middle-class residents or of Black middle-class residents in a neighborhood, respectively.

Table 1 shows the percentage of Table 1 shows the percentage of individuals in each

category that comprise the study's middle-class variable including college education, PMT occupation, and household income of $50k or higher for 1970 and 2010 decadal periods, and the change therein. It also provides the percentage of individuals who meet the criteria at one or more of these three categories. According to Table 1, the percentage of Blacks who attained a college degree has more than tripled between 1970 and 2010. Also, between 1970 and 2010, the proportion of Blacks who hold a PMT position and the proportion that live in households with an income of $50k or more has more than doubled. These growth rates for Blacks are sizeable in light of the respective growth rates for Whites during the same time period. Still, the relative percentages of Whites compared to Blacks are greater across socioeconomic characteristics although that gap has become smaller over time.

The second set of variables in Table 1 illustrates the number of individuals who exhibit two or more of the three middle-class attributes. When compared to Blacks, Whites are more likely to exhibit two or more attributes across any given time period. For example, in 2010, 40% of Whites held both a PMT occupation and lived in a household that earned more than $50k a year. In contrast, only 25% of Blacks in the same year exhibited both of the attributes. The third variable set captures individuals that met all three middle-class attributes. Almost 1 in 4 (23%) Whites exhibited all three middle-class attributes in 2010 compared to approximately 1 in 10 (9%) in 1970. In contrast, only a little over 1 in 10 (12%) Blacks exhibited all three middle-class attributes in 2010 in contrast to 1 in 33 (3%) in 1970. This table generally illustrates that Whites are more firmly supplanted in the middle-class than their Black counterparts.

The present study however is specifically interested the proportion of individuals by race who exhibit at least one of three middle-class attributes. According to in Table 1, Blacks have experienced a large amount of growth in the final category between 1970 and 2010. In 1970, less than 1 in 2 Blacks exhibited at least one middle-class attribute but by 2010 approximately 2

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE CLASS ATTRIBUTES BY RACE, 1970-2010

	1970		**2010**		**1970-2010**	
Attributes (25 years+)	*Blacks*	*Whites*	*Blacks*	*Whites*	*Blacks*	*Whites*
College Education	5%	13%	20%	34%	323%	174%
PMT Occupation	19%	41%	40%	51%	109%	26%
Household Inc >=$50k	16%	38%	33%	52%	106%	37%
College Education *and* PMT Occupation	4%	11%	15%	26%	285%	149%
College Education *and* Household Inc >=$50k	4%	10%	15%	29%	317%	174%
PMT Occupation *and* Household Inc >=$50k	12%	30%	25%	40%	116%	33%
College Education *and* PMT Occupation *and* Household Inc >=$50k	3%	9%	12%	23%	274%	156%
College Education *or* PMT Occupation *or* Household Inc >=$50k	46%	73%	65%	79%	42%	9%

Source: Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010

in 3 Blacks did so. Black access to the middle-class has grown considerably, reducing the gap between themselves and Whites. Whites have experienced less growth than Blacks but probably because of relatively high percentages across all time periods. For instance, more than 7 out of 10 Whites exhibited a middle-class attribute between 1970 and 2010.

Measuring the dependent variables. The study's analysis explores the influence of individual-level and metropolitan-level characteristics on two proxies of locational attainment. The first dependent variable is the percentage White population in a census tract. This indicator has been used to proxy the availability of resources within a neighborhood (Alba and Logan 1991; 1993) and the avoidance of the deleterious effects of racial residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993). Neighborhoods with a larger proportion of White residents represent better-integrated neighborhoods for minority residents and this has been tied to their access to greater resources when compared to segregated neighborhoods. In this case, the larger the percentage of White residents, the greater the minority access to neighborhood resources and the better they are able to avoid the negative effects of segregation.

The second dependent variable represents exposure to same-race middle-class residents for Blacks and Whites, and specifically is the percentage of same-race middle-class residents by the total number of same-race residents for Blacks and Whites in the census-tract. The middle-class variable is based on three specific individual attributes: attaining a college education, being employed in the PMT sector, or residing in a household where the household income is above $50k annually. The number of individuals with any of the three characteristics is summed to construct two neighborhood indicators: exposure to Black middle-class residents (hereafter, Black middle-class neighborhood) and exposure to White middle class residents (hereafter, White middle-class neighborhood).

Measuring the independent variables. The individual- and metropolitan-level indicators selected are those identified to affect locational attainment. The primary measures of individual socioeconomic status include individual educational attainment, measured by completed years of schooling, household income in 2010 dollars, and occupation, including the professional, management and technical occupation, service occupation, and manufacturing occupation. It also includes positions in the public sector and participation in the military. Individual age is measured as a continuous variable, and sex is measured as a dichotomous variable with a 1 for males. Marital status is measured as a dichotomous variable. I also include a variable to capture regional differences across the U.S. The regions include the Northeast, Midwest, West and South with the South as the reference group.

My analysis captures the metropolitan context by including three sets of metropolitan-level characteristics that measure economic context; race, ethnicity and space; and same-race middle-class presence. These are variables that have been shown to impact neighborhood access and quality (Anderson forthcoming, 1; Crowder et al 2012; Iceland et al 2013). The metropolitan economic context includes measures of poverty, unemployment, percent manufacturing sector, percent professional, management and technical (PMT) sector, percent public sector, and percent military sector. The metropolitan racial and ethnic character includes the percentages of non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, non-Hispanic Asians and Hispanics. It also includes the metropolitan area's dissimilarity index, which is a measure of the level of racial residential segregation between Whites and Blacks. The metropolitan area's diversity is also included and this measure captures the racial/ethnic proportion of the population. The maximum value of 1 occurs when all racial and ethnic groups are of equal size, while a 0 represents complete racial homogeneity. Finally, the same-race middle-class variables include measures that capture the strength of the middle-class for Blacks and Whites in a given metropolitan area. These measures

are the percentages of the same-race college educated population and the same-race high-income populations measured by households with incomes above $50k annually. The percentage of the same-race PMT sector population was not included as an additional middle-class measure because it is highly correlated with the same-race high-income population measure. The analysis also included metropolitan level control variables that include: population size, new housing construction, which is the percentage housing built in the last 10 years, percentage retirement-aged population, and the percentage homeownership. [18]

Analytic strategy. Following previous research on locational attainment, I include individual-level variables to predict a neighborhood-level characteristic (Alba and Logan 1993). In addition, I include metropolitan-level variables to control for macro-level characteristics (South 2011b).

I use a hierarchical linear model (HLM) using random effects regression for movers of each racial group included in the study for the two proxies for locational attainment. The use of a HLM model is essential in capturing between and within metropolitan effects across the U.S., as well as being able to disaggregate the effects of individual- and metropolitan-level characteristics on neighborhood patterns. The following model represents the full model used in this study:

$$Yij=\beta0+\beta1X1ij+\beta2X2ij+\beta3X3ij+\beta4X4ij+\beta5X5ij+aij + eij + uij$$

Yij is the neighborhood outcome represented by the two proxies for locational attainment (i.e. percentage non-Hispanic Whites and percentage same-race middle-class residents for individual i in metropolitan area j). Additionally, the set of middle-class measures include

[18] The set of independent variables went through diagnostic testing to determine the potential for multicollinearity. The metropolitan proportion of same-race PMT population was highly correlated ($r>0.7$) with the metropolitan proportions of the same-race college-educated population and the same-race high-income population. As a result, metropolitan proportion of same-race PMT was not included in the regression models.

two distinct variables specifically White middle-class for Whites and Black middle-class for Blacks. X1 represents included individual-level characteristics, X2 represents included metropolitan-level characteristics, while X3, X4, and X5 are dummy variables for three U.S. regions—Northeast, Midwest and West respectively; the South is excluded and used as the reference group. All model coefficients have been standardized for ease of interpretation.

Limitations. A noted limitation of this study is the inability to make a direct comparison between the Decennial Census survey and the American Community Survey. The present-study relies on the migration question to capture individual mobility patterns for a given decade. The Decennial Census has historically asked the question, "Where did this person live five years ago?" In contrast, the ACS asked the question, "Where did this person live one year ago?" Due to the change in this specific question, comparing the effects of migrant related questions may be unreliable. The reader should use caution in interpreting results that employ the ACS data.

V. RESULTS

Locational Attainment of Black and White Movers in the U.S.

Table 2 describes the average neighborhood experienced for Black and White movers between 1970 and 2010 across neighborhood quality indicators of percentage White, percentage middle-class and percentage same-race middle-class. In order to illustrate locational attainment differences by class, Table 2 also differentiates between the non-middle class and the middle-class. For example, Table 2, for comparative purposes, distinguishes individuals that have attained a college degree from those who have not.

According to Table 2, in general, middle-class residents experience greater locational attainment than non-middle-class residents across all neighborhood types—White, middle-class, and same-race middle-class neighborhoods. For Whites, although the overall White percentage

TABLE 2: LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN THE U.S. OF BLACK AND WHITE MOVERS, 1970-2010

	NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL VARIABLES								
	Pct White			Pct Middle Class			Pct White Middle Class		
WHITES	<College Education	>=College Education	Difference	<College Education	>=College Education	Difference	<College Education	>=College Education	Difference
1970	0.93	0.94	0.01	0.71	0.80	0.09	0.72	0.81	0.09
1980	0.88	0.88	0.00	0.68	0.75	0.07	0.70	0.78	0.08
1990	0.83	0.84	0.01	0.70	0.79	0.09	0.76	0.84	0.08
2000	0.80	0.81	0.01	0.78	0.86	0.08	0.78	0.86	0.08
2010	0.75	0.75	0.00	0.74	0.82	0.08	0.75	0.84	0.09
CH 70-10	-0.19	-0.20		0.04	0.02		0.04	0.04	
	No PMT Occupation	PMT Occupation	Difference	No PMT Occupation	PMT Occupation	Difference	No PMT Occupation	PMT Occupation	Difference
1970	0.92	0.94	0.02	0.69	0.77	0.08	0.70	0.78	0.08
1980	0.87	0.88	0.01	0.66	0.73	0.07	0.69	0.76	0.07
1990	0.83	0.84	0.01	0.68	0.76	0.08	0.74	0.82	0.08
2000	0.81	0.81	0.00	0.77	0.83	0.06	0.77	0.84	0.07
2010	0.76	0.75	-0.01	0.73	0.80	0.07	0.75	0.81	0.06
CH 70-10	-0.17	-0.20		0.06	0.04		0.07	0.04	
1970	Household Income <50k	Household Income >=50k	Difference	Household Income <50k	Household Income >=50k	Difference	Household Income <50k	Household Income >=50k	Difference
1980	0.91	0.94	0.03	0.66	0.77	0.11	0.67	0.77	0.10
1990	0.86	0.89	0.03	0.65	0.73	0.08	0.67	0.76	0.09
2000	0.82	0.85	0.03	0.66	0.76	0.10	0.72	0.82	0.10
2010	0.79	0.82	0.03	0.76	0.84	0.08	0.76	0.84	0.08
CH 70-10	0.75	0.76	0.01	0.72	0.80	0.08	0.73	0.82	0.09
	-0.18	-0.19		0.09	0.04		0.09	0.06	

BLACKS	Pct White			Pct Middle Class			Pct Black Middle Class		
1970	<College Education	>=College Education	Difference	<College Education	>=College Education	Difference	<College Education	>=College Education	Difference
1980	0.34	0.47	0.13	0.52	0.65	0.13	0.47	0.62	0.15
1990	0.34	0.49	0.15	0.54	0.66	0.12	0.53	0.67	0.14
2000	0.40	0.53	0.13	0.61	0.74	0.13	0.62	0.76	0.14
2010	0.37	0.49	0.12	0.68	0.79	0.11	0.64	0.78	0.14
CH 70-10	0.39	0.48	0.09	0.65	0.76	0.11	0.62	0.75	0.13
	0.15	0.02		0.25	0.17		0.32	0.21	
1970	No PMT Occupation	PMT Occupation	Difference	No PMT Occupation	PMT Occupation	Difference	No PMT Occupation	PMT Occupation	Difference
1980	0.33	0.38	0.05	0.50	0.60	0.10	0.45	0.58	0.13
1990	0.34	0.40	0.06	0.52	0.61	0.09	0.51	0.62	0.11
2000	0.39	0.46	0.07	0.58	0.69	0.11	0.58	0.71	0.13
2010	0.36	0.42	0.06	0.66	0.74	0.08	0.61	0.72	0.11
CH 70-10	0.38	0.43	0.05	0.64	0.72	0.08	0.60	0.71	0.11
	0.15	0.13		0.28	0.20		0.33	0.22	
1970	Household Income <50k	Household Income >=50k	Difference	Household Income <50k	Household Income >=50k	Difference	Household Income <50k	Household Income >=50k	Difference
1980	0.32	0.38	0.06	0.48	0.60	0.12	0.42	0.58	0.16
1990	0.32	0.41	0.09	0.51	0.62	0.11	0.49	0.64	0.15
2000	0.38	0.46	0.08	0.56	0.70	0.14	0.55	0.73	0.18
2010	0.35	0.44	0.09	0.65	0.76	0.11	0.60	0.75	0.15
CH 70-10	0.38	0.44	0.06	0.63	0.74	0.11	0.58	0.74	0.16
	0.19	0.16		0.31	0.23		0.38	0.28	

Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.

remains high, access to White neighborhoods has generally declined for both middle-class and non-middle-class residents. Yet, it appears that Whites are able to access White neighborhoods regardless of their middle-class stature. Whites have also experienced limited growth across both middle-class neighborhood types between 1970 and 2010. However, it is clear that the White middle-class achieve greater locational attainment than the White non-middle-class. In light of differences observed between the White non-middle class and middle-class in accessing middle-class neighborhoods, the White neighborhood variable appears to disguise class differences.

Middle-class and non-middle-class Blacks have experienced greater access to White neighborhoods over time. Still, their overall access to White neighborhoods however remain well behind that of Whites. Black middle-class neighborhoods have experienced strong growth between 1970 and 2010, and the ability of Blacks to generally access these neighborhoods has increased. When compared to Whites, Blacks have seen much greater growth across all locational attainment types, and especially middle-class ones. Black middle-class movers have experienced greater overall locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods over time than Black non-middle-class movers. Thus, it is clear that across all neighborhood indicators that the Black and White middle-class consistently live in better neighborhoods than those who are not middle-class.

Regression Analysis - Comparing Black and White Movers into White Neighborhoods

Table 3 includes two sets of random effects regression models for Black and White movers that estimate the effects of individual- and metropolitan-level characteristics on locational attainment into White neighborhoods. Only coefficients with a p-value of less than .10 will be discussed in the current and subsequent sections. The models in this section have

overall R^2 values that range from .101 to .328 (for Whites) and .183 to .262 (for Blacks); the between metropolitan area R^2 values range from .822 to .971 (for Whites) and .722 to .875 (for Blacks); and the within metropolitan area R^2 values range from .0388 to .0454 (for Whites) and .0568 to .111 (for Blacks). According to Table 3, individual socioeconomic status, including college education, household income and professional occupation, is a consistent significant positive predictor of access to White neighborhoods for Black and White movers. Of these three key variables, college education is the strongest predictor of locational attainment. In line with the spatial assimilation model, individual socioeconomic status matters for both groups of movers, Blacks and Whites, in their access of White neighborhoods.

The metropolitan-level variables show a much more differentiated effect between Blacks' and Whites' access to White neighborhoods. Blacks are generally less likely to access White neighborhoods in metropolitan areas with large populations, while the opposite is true for Whites. In addition, the size of the metropolitan Black population is a negative predictor of Black locational attainment into White neighborhoods while Whites are more likely to move into White neighborhoods with an increasing metropolitan White population. These observations reveal that both metropolitan size and racial composition matter in locational attainment for Black and White movers.

The metropolitan economic character displays different effects for Black and White movers in their ability to access White neighborhoods. For Whites, there is a negative effect between the size of the metropolitan PMT sector and accessing White neighborhoods, while this effect is positive for Blacks. In contrast, the size of the manufacturing and service sectors are positive in White access of White neighborhoods while Blacks either display mixed or negative effects. In the post-Civil Rights era, if the PMT sector represents a growing metropolitan economy while the manufacturing and service industries embody negative ones, then Blacks are

TABLE 3: RANDOM EFFECT REGRESSION HLM MODEL PREDICTING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF BLACK AND WHITE MOVERS INTO WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS, 1970-2010

	BLACKS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Sex	-0.00971***	-0.0249***	-0.0239***	0.0292***	0.0276***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marital Status	0.104***	0.147***	0.171***	0.170***	0.136***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age	-0.0107	-0.116***	-0.194***	-0.0404***	-0.128***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Age^2	0.012	0.126***	0.195***	0.0399***	0.121***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
High School	0.0196***	0.0911***	0.110***	0.117***	0.0903***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Some College	0.128***	0.191***	0.231***	0.236***	0.200***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
College Education+	0.293***	0.418***	0.464***	0.483***	0.410***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.0975***	0.0929***	0.0545***	0.112***	0.115***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0218***	0.0920***	0.127***	0.124***	0.101***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
PMT Occupation	0.0683***	0.125***	0.133***	0.114***	0.107***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Service Occupation	0.0195***	0.0250***	0.0357***	0.0297***	0.0312***
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Military Occupation	0.643***	0.377***	0.230***	0.249***	0.212***
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04
Public Sector Occupation	-0.00952**	-0.0168***	-0.0362***	-0.0475***	-0.00873
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
REGIONAL VARIABLES					
Northeast	0.0625*	-0.00785	0.151***	-0.0915***	-0.147***
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02
Midwest	-0.00983	-0.106***	0.0477**	-0.0744***	-0.0818***
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02
West	-0.06	-0.0777	0.0387	-0.361***	0.0393**
	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.02
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	-0.347***	-0.228***	-0.350***	-0.244***	0.00387
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.0128	-0.0221**	-0.0947***	-0.0988***	0.0249***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
New Housing (<10years)	-0.140***	0.0301***	0.0890***	0.0728***	-0.000553
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Homeownership	-0.193***	0.0882***	-0.146***	-0.151***	-0.00989
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Military Sector	-0.0446***	0.101***	0.0136	-0.0749***	-0.00825
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Manufacturing Sector	-0.0567***	0.0194*	0.0269***	-0.0574***	0.0115*
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01

Pct Public Sector	0.0316	-0.0927***	-0.0573***	0.0700***	0.012
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct PMT Sector	0.0312***	0.152***	0.0957***	0.0199***	0.0146*
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Service Sector	-0.151***	-0.0617***	-0.0951***	-0.120***	0.00988**
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
Pct Unemployment	0.0505***	-0.00593	0.00242	0.0883***	-0.00826*
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
Pct Poverty	-0.116***	0.0406***	0.0303***	-0.0928***	-0.0054
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.189***	-0.192***	-0.0874***	-0.151***	-0.232***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Diversity Index	-0.0684***	-0.244***	-0.195***	-0.0871***	-0.174***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Black Population	-0.213***	-0.232***	-0.302***	-0.497***	-0.210***
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Asian Population	-0.00729	0.0173*	-0.0422***	-0.0588***	-0.0513***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Hispanic Population	0.0445***	0.115***	-0.0072	-0.240***	-0.154***
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Black College Educated Population	-0.00329	-0.0212***	-0.0115***	-0.0283***	-0.00316
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
Pct Black High Income Population (>$50k)	0.00112	0.00322	-0.0222**	-0.0563***	-0.0132
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Constant	-0.0538*	-0.162***	-0.303***	-0.248***	-0.142***
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01
Observations	356,000	265,000	709,000	901,000	79,000
Number of MAs	256	339	362	362	313
r2 - Overall	0.183	0.236	0.235	0.251	0.262
r2 - Between MAs	0.837	0.722	0.791	0.827	0.875
r2 - Within MAs	0.0568	0.0752	0.101	0.111	0.0676
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					

	WHITES				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Sex	0.0159***	0.0146***	0.0134***	-0.0104***	-0.00736***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marital Status	0.197***	0.211***	0.197***	0.198***	0.140***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age	0.0447***	0.0874***	0.142***	0.107***	0.0250***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age^2	-0.0137***	-0.0680***	-0.0912***	-0.0559***	0.0340***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
High School	0.164***	0.134***	0.201***	0.139***	0.118***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Some College	0.198***	0.152***	0.236***	0.166***	0.126***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01

College Education+	0.186***	0.159***	0.264***	0.218***	0.151***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.0378***	0.0223***	0.0437***	0.0829***	0.100***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0266***	0.0320***	0.0325***	0.0395***	0.0448***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
PMT Occupation	0.0919***	0.0492***	0.0517***	0.00750***	0.0128***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Service Occupation	0.000674	-0.0284***	-0.0209***	-0.0401***	-0.0161***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Military Occupation	-0.0134***	-0.282***	-0.302***	-0.236***	-0.0912***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Public Sector Occupation	-0.0154***	-0.0173***	-0.0453***	-0.0166***	0.00328
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
REGIONAL VARIABLES					
Northeast	-0.0192	0.0485***	0.0794***	0.148***	0.0834***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Midwest	-0.0902***	-0.120***	-0.0403***	-0.0332***	-0.00877
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
West	0.146***	-0.246***	0.0892***	0.0983***	0.0445*
	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.0899***	0.0792***	0.0992***	0.0728***	0.0267*
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Percent Age 65+ years	0.0461***	-0.00505	-0.0532***	-0.0516***	-0.0173
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
New Housing (<10years)	-0.0518***	-0.00579	-0.0276***	-0.0135***	-0.0157*
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Homeownership	-0.0214***	-0.0191***	-0.0293***	-0.0498***	-0.00209
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Military Sector	0.00286	0.0136**	0.00740**	-0.0556***	-0.0115*
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.0492***	0.0184***	0.0111***	0.0305***	-0.0131
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Public Sector	0.0303***	-0.0405***	-0.0615***	-0.0118***	-0.0161*
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct PMT Sector	-0.0416***	-0.0804***	-0.0968***	-0.0211***	-0.0443**
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
Pct Service Sector	0.0729***	0.0375***	0.0588***	0.0412***	0.0018
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Unemployment	-0.1000***	0.0224***	-0.0287***	0.0367***	-0.0167**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Poverty	0.0509***	-0.0890***	-0.0247***	-0.105***	-0.00475
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	0.0436***	0.0537***	0.0741***	0.0626***	0.0506***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Diversity Index	-0.134***	-0.199***	-0.135***	0.0036	0.00463
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct White Population	0.237***	0.274***	0.295***	0.372***	0.507***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03
Pct Asian Population	-0.0402***	-0.0417***	-0.150***	-0.170***	-0.0563***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01

Pct Hispanic Population	-0.122***	-0.0694***	-0.0730***	-0.175***	-0.119***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
Pct White College Educated Population	-0.0191**	0.146***	0.106***	0.0695***	0.0371**
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct White High Income Population (>$50k)	0.0701***	-0.0468***	-0.0475***	-0.141***	-0.0244
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Constant	-0.284***	-0.220***	-0.348***	-0.312***	-0.293***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Observations	2,899,000	2,191,000	6,183,000	5,924,000	383,000
Number of MAs	265	360	362	362	318
r2 - Overall	0.101	0.246	0.265	0.31	0.328
r2 - Between MAs	0.822	0.867	0.928	0.939	0.971
r2 - Within MAs	0.0339	0.0343	0.0388	0.0454	0.0286
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					

only likely to achieve locational attainment into White neighborhoods in metropolitan areas with growing economies.

For Blacks, the size of Black-White racial residential segregation has a negative effect on Black access to White neighborhoods. Accordingly metropolitan areas with increasing diversity make it difficult for Blacks to access White neighborhoods. In contrast, Whites are more likely to move into White neighborhoods in metropolitan areas with greater segregation. And, Whites show an early negative relationship between increasing diversity and White neighborhood access that has disappeared in the latter two decades.

The size of the same-race middle-class population has divergent results for Blacks and Whites. For Whites, the metropolitan White college educated population is positively related to White neighborhood locational attainment while the White high-income population is generally negatively related. Blacks, in contrast, generally show a negative or no relationship between the sizes of both their middle-class populations and accessing White neighborhoods. In other words, a Black middle-class presence has no bearing on their locational attainment into White neighborhoods.

Together these findings illustrate that individual socioeconomic status are consistently significant predictors of locational attainment for both Black and White movers. This suggests that for Black and White movers, they are able to translate their human capital into better neighborhoods and there are not substantial racial differences. When metropolitan characteristics are considered, there are quite a number of differences in how the metropolitan context shapes locational attainment for Blacks compared to Whites. If White neighborhoods remain an important measure of locational attainment for Blacks, then Black locational attainment appears bleak not because individual socioeconomic status does not matter, but because larger metropolitan structures may act as greater obstacles to access to White neighborhoods. The following section will continue its exploration by focusing on Black and White locational attainment into same-race middle-class neighborhoods.

Regression Analysis - Comparing Black and White Movers into Same-Race Middle-Class Neighborhoods

Table 4 describes locational attainment for Black and White movers into same-race middle-class neighborhoods—Black middle-class and White middle-class neighborhoods—measured by exposure to same-race middle-class residents.[19] The models in this section have overall R^2 values that range from .267 to .356 (for Whites) and .263 to .381 (for Blacks); the between metropolitan area R^2 values range from .644 to .954 (for Whites) and .428 to .688 (for Blacks); and the within metropolitan area R^2 values range from .104 to .163 (for Whites) and .162 to .195 (for Blacks). According to Table 4, like White neighborhoods, locational attainment into same-race middle-class neighborhoods is strongly correlated with individual socioeconomic

[19] All regression models were run with an additional independent variable that captured the natural logged count of same-race residents in a neighborhood to control for the size of the same-race neighborhood population. Although this variable was consistently significant throughout all of the regression models, this variable was not included in the final models because it did not alter the general findings discussed in this paper.

status. College education, median household income and professional occupation are all significantly associated with access to same-race middle-class neighborhoods. And, similar to White neighborhood locational attainment, same-race middle-class neighborhoods are strongly impacted by the metropolitan context.

The size of the metropolitan population has different effects on Black and White access to same-race middle-class neighborhoods. Blacks, for example, are more likely to move into Black middle-class neighborhoods in large metropolitan areas which is in contrast to the negative effect shown in their ability to access White neighborhoods. For Whites, the effect of

TABLE 4: RANDOM EFFECT REGRESSION HLM MODEL PREDICTING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF BLACK AND WHITE MOVERS INTO SAME-RACE NEIGHBORHOODS, 1970-2010

	BLACKS INTO BLACK MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Sex	0.00124	-0.0143***	-0.0265***	0.0251***	0.00940***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marital Status	0.176***	0.216***	0.227***	0.233***	0.162***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age	0.109***	0.0405***	-0.0150**	-0.0349***	-0.159***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Age^2	-0.102***	-0.0475***	0.0244***	0.0404***	0.148***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
High School	0.174***	0.200***	0.187***	0.191***	0.151***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Some College	0.328***	0.331***	0.363***	0.379***	0.293***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
College Education+	0.496***	0.556***	0.573***	0.633***	0.499***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.216***	0.303***	0.133***	0.191***	0.246***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0610***	0.0947***	0.0845***	0.0658***	0.0578***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
PMT Occupation	0.234***	0.285***	0.278***	0.249***	0.277***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Service Occupation	0.0334***	0.0620***	0.0479***	0.0390***	0.00624
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Military Occupation	0.146***	0.272***	0.273***	0.247***	0.267***
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04
Public Sector Occupation	0.0471***	0.00819*	0.0231***	0.00272	0.0391***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
REGIONAL VARIABLES					
Northeast	0.315***	-0.00781	-0.138***	-0.292***	-0.164***

	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04
Midwest	0.318***	-0.017	0.181***	-0.131***	-0.0189
	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.05
West	0.520***	0.243***	0.369***	0.0555	-0.0031
	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.04	0.09
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.0972***	0.147***	0.0851***	0.0667***	0.0766**
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Percent Age 65+ years	0.00495	0.00655	-0.0763***	-0.0336***	0.00662
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
New Housing (<10years)	0.0720***	-0.0887***	-0.0745***	-0.0122	-0.012
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Homeownership	0.0609***	0.527***	0.114***	0.185***	-0.0329
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Military Sector	-0.235***	0.0980***	-0.219***	-0.0463***	-0.0187
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.0925***	0.0742***	-0.0567***	-0.0269***	-0.0236
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Public Sector	0.235***	0.0595**	0.355***	0.197***	0.0553*
	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.03
Pct PMT Sector	0.0476***	0.0794***	0.0972***	0.113***	0.00746
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Service Sector	-0.0185	0.175***	-0.00403	0.0352***	0.0117
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Unemployment	-0.0762***	0.0178	-0.100***	-0.00265	0.00994
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Poverty	-0.214***	-0.0709***	-0.0607***	-0.0903***	-0.0552**
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.0382**	0.0159	0.00252	0.0355***	-0.00818
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03
Diversity Index	0.0342	-0.121***	-0.0525***	-0.0899***	0.0199
	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03
Pct Black Population	-0.0343*	0.103***	0.0182*	-0.0172**	-0.0424
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Asian Population	0.00395	0.00234	0.0114	0.0162	-0.0302
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Hispanic Population	0.0671***	0.524***	-0.109***	0.129***	-0.0407
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03
Pct Black College Educated Population	0.0139***	0.0690***	-0.0360***	0.00167	0.0947***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Black High Income Population (>$50k)	0.00386	0.0446***	0.194***	0.152***	0.172***
	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03
Constant	-0.532***	-0.281***	-0.453***	-0.411***	-0.356***
	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.04
Observations	356,000	265,000	709,000	901,000	79,000
Number of MAs	256	339	362	362	313
r2 - Overall	0.381	0.273	0.263	0.293	0.272
r2 - Between MAs	0.633	0.52	0.428	0.688	0.6
r2 - Within MAs	0.172	0.168	0.186	0.195	0.162

	WHITES INTO WHITE MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Sex	0.0275***	0.0146***	0.00494***	0.00406***	0.00834***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marital Status	0.239***	0.162***	0.137***	0.138***	0.113***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age	0.0914***	0.129***	0.0848***	0.0335***	-0.174***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age^2	-0.0414***	-0.104***	-0.0326***	-0.0212***	0.178***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
High School	0.329***	0.271***	0.291***	0.220***	0.247***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Some College	0.498***	0.434***	0.474***	0.384***	0.401***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
College Education+	0.629***	0.627***	0.691***	0.617***	0.652***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.119***	0.0385***	0.0604***	0.154***	0.155***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing Occupation	-0.0338***	-0.0212***	-0.0218***	-0.0161***	-0.00414
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
PMT Occupation	0.215***	0.180***	0.208***	0.174***	0.168***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Service Occupation	-0.00720***	-0.00526**	0.0150***	0.0147***	0.0191***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Military Occupation	0.0510***	-0.0958***	0.150***	0.0596***	0.133***
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Public Sector Occupation	-0.0536***	-0.0887***	-0.0876***	-0.0712***	-0.0340***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
REGIONAL VARIABLES					
Northeast	-0.0702***	-0.0243**	0.101***	-0.0102	-0.0198
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Midwest	-0.0410***	0.0104	0.0514***	-0.0223***	-0.0653***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
West	0.127***	0.0352	0.263***	-0.0783***	0.0618**
	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.184***	-0.0441***	-0.0381***	0.00645*	-0.0145
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.100***	-0.131***	-0.0970***	-0.0924***	0.0153
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
New Housing (<10years)	0.205***	-0.00780*	-0.00952***	0.000897	0.0489***
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Homeownership	0.246***	0.0112**	-0.0425***	0.0203***	0.0310**
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Military Sector	-0.0553***	0.0904***	0.0242***	-0.00755***	-0.00858
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.0488***	0.0332***	0.0159***	0.0325***	0.00768
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Public Sector	0.0440***	-0.125***	-0.0121**	0.00970***	0.0129
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct PMT Sector	0.125***	0.301***	0.301***	0.328***	0.107***
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02

Pct Service Sector	0.0480***	-0.0222***	-0.0746***	0.0212***	0.0362***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Unemployment	-0.0167***	0.00201	-0.0562***	0.0532***	-0.0172**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Poverty	-0.121***	-0.120***	-0.0855***	-0.132***	0.0210*
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.0397***	0.0557***	0.0940***	0.0221***	-0.011
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Diversity Index	0.112***	-0.0128	0.0238**	0.0270***	0.0783***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct White Population	-0.0106**	-0.181***	-0.151***	-0.119***	0.0443*
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03
Pct Asian Population	-0.0212***	-0.0744***	-0.130***	-0.0634***	-0.0219**
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Hispanic Population	-0.0376***	0.0180***	-0.0238***	0.0630***	-0.00239
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
Pct White College Educated Population	-0.0620***	-0.0220*	-0.0828***	-0.0523***	0.0833***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct White High Income Population (>$50k)	0.108***	0.0909***	0.164***	0.105***	0.347***
	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02
Constant	-0.445***	-0.453***	-0.578***	-0.464***	-0.590***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Observations	2,899,000	2,191,000	6,183,000	5,924,000	383,000
Number of MAs	265	360	362	362	318
r2 - Overall	0.296	0.267	0.332	0.356	0.336
r2 - Between MAs	0.783	0.753	0.644	0.882	0.954
r2 - Within MAs	0.163	0.104	0.134	0.152	0.124
Standard errors in parentheses					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

metropolitan population size fluctuates over time in their access of White middle-class neighborhoods. This is in contrast to the findings discussed above in which there was a consistent positive effect of metropolitan population size and access to White neighborhoods. Furthermore, the size of the metropolitan Black population is not consistent in predicting Black access to Black middle-class neighborhoods. The size of the metropolitan White population is generally negative in predicting access to White middle-class neighborhoods. This effect is opposite in explaining White access to White neighborhoods. The metropolitan population and the composition of that population show important effects in explaining locational attainment of Black and White movers into same-race middle-class neighborhoods. And interestingly, it is

clear that the conditions that explain Black and White access to same race middle-class neighborhoods differ from access to White neighborhoods. For Blacks, although population size hinders locational attainment into White neighborhoods, it supports locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods. Whites, in contrast, are more likely to move into White neighborhoods as the sizes of total population and White population increase, and become less likely to move into White middle-class neighborhoods under these same conditions.

The size of the PMT sector is instrumental in positively predicting locational attainment of both Blacks and Whites into same-race middle-class neighborhoods. This effect is the same for Blacks in explaining their access to White neighborhoods, but produces an opposite effect for Whites into White neighborhoods. The size of the public sector also has a positive effect on Black access to Black middle-class neighborhoods, but shows no consistent effect for Whites. Increased rates of poverty have a negative effect on Black and White locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods. The effect of poverty is also a stronger negative predictor in explaining access to middle-class neighborhoods compared to White neighborhoods.

These findings give some insight into the benefits of an increasing PMT sector in accessing middle-class neighborhoods. For Whites, the difference in effect on the PMT sector in accessing middle-class neighborhoods (positive) compared to White neighborhoods (negative) confirms that economically strong metropolitan areas are important in their locational attainment into middle-class neighborhoods but not White ones. Whites are able to access White neighborhoods regardless of the metropolitan growing economic context. Blacks in contrast are only able to access quality neighborhoods whether White or middle-class in metropolitan areas with a growing economic context.

Racial residential segregation shows some positive effects for Whites in their locational

attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods, which is consistent with effects shown for White neighborhoods. Although residential segregation negatively impacts Blacks' access to White neighborhoods, there is no effect on their access to Black middle-class neighborhoods. Yet, diversity has a negative effect on Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods between 1980 and 2000, but it is generally positive for Whites. Although residential segregation does not impact Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, it appears that diverse metropolitan areas do somewhat mitigate this access. In contrast, both residential segregation and diversity facilitate White locational attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods. Together these observations suggest that access to Black middle-class neighborhoods is not a consequence of racial segregation and that diversity may facilitate Black access into alternative neighborhoods and away from Black middle-class neighborhoods. White locational attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods, in contrast, is supported by racial segregation, and it appears that Whites increasingly seek out White middle-class neighborhoods as diversity increases.

The size of the metropolitan White high-income population is a strong positive predictor of White locational attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods while the size of the metropolitan White college-educated population is a negative predictor. This effect is opposite of what was observed for White neighborhoods. This suggests that Whites are better able to convert their high-income population into exclusive middle-class neighborhoods while they are not able to do the same with a strong college-educated population. And unlike locational attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods, an increasing metropolitan college-educated population explains access into White neighborhoods.

For Blacks, both the size of the metropolitan Black college educated and Black high-income population are generally positive predictors of locational attainment into Black middle-

class neighborhoods. This effect is also similar in predicting Black access into general middle-class neighborhoods (analysis not shown – see Appendix Table 2). These observations are in stark contrast to the metropolitan Black middle-class populations having a negative or no effect in predicting access into White neighborhoods. Blacks benefit largely from the size of the Black middle-class population in their ability to access middle-class or Black middle-class neighborhoods but not in their ability to access White neighborhoods.

VI. DISCUSSION

The majority of locational studies use the percent White neighborhood population as a key indicator in an effort to best capture locational attainment for Blacks. It is this variable that measures the ability of Blacks to transform socioeconomic status into both access to mainstream neighborhoods and avoidance of racial residential segregation and its consequences (Alba and Logan 1991; Massey and Denton 1993). And while locational attainment studies use the spatial assimilation model and place stratification perspective to explain Black locational attainment or the lack thereof, very little is known about the effect of the growing Black middle-class population in their ability to create and access alternative neighborhoods of quality, specifically Black middle-class neighborhoods. In this study, Black middle-class neighborhoods are measured by exposure to Black middle-class residents in a neighborhood. Although the minority culture of mobility model posited over a decade ago that Blacks with socioeconomic resource are likely to bypass White neighborhoods in an effort to avoid individual- and institutional racism when Black middle-class neighborhoods are available (Neckerman et al 1999), very little has been done empirically to test this theoretical framework. Further, Freeman (2008) argues that Black desire to locate into White neighborhoods has declined in the post-Civil Rights era, but still little exploration has done to uncover the potential affect of this change on Black locational attainment. Altogether, in the midst of developing theoretical frameworks in the

MCM model and changing attitudes of Blacks toward quality neighborhoods, it is unclear which individual socioeconomic indicators or metropolitan-level conditions would explain, if at all, Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods.

The present study's exploration of Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods presents three major findings. First, there are distinct differences between White locational attainment into White neighborhoods when compared to White middle-class neighborhoods that should not be overlooked by the locational attainment literature. Generally, Whites do distinguish between the two neighborhood types with White middle-class neighborhoods being more desirable. Thus, operationalizing locational attainment as an entry into a White neighborhood is not an accurate measure of neighborhood quality for Whites or other groups. Second, individual socioeconomic status provides a consistent effect for both Black and White movers, while the metropolitan context explains any divergent effects in the locational attainment of these groups. The metropolitan racial/ethnic character, economic context and same-race middle-class population explains the divergence in locational attainment experienced between Black and White movers.

Third, an increasing metropolitan Black middle-class is a strong determinant of Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods. Neither the spatial assimilation model nor the place-stratification perspective explains locational attainment of Black movers into Black middle-class neighborhoods. Although it is true that higher SES predicts locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, the aforementioned theoretical frameworks have yet to consider Black middle-class neighborhoods as neighborhoods of advantage for Blacks. The minority culture of mobility model provides the best fitting explanation of Black access to alternative quality Black middle-class neighborhoods as it is the only theoretical framework that considers Black middle-class neighborhoods as a neighborhood of advantage. And the MCM

model will become increasingly important as the Black middle-class becomes more salient in the U.S.

Generally, individual socioeconomic resources are important in explaining White access to both White and White middle-class neighborhoods. However, the metropolitan economic context does not seem to play the type of role one would expect in explaining White locational attainment into White neighborhoods compared to White middle-class ones. White locational attainment into White neighborhoods is strong and positively correlated to the size of the manufacturing and service industries. Generally, since 1970, these industries have been in decline in the U.S. so their ability to support White locational attainment is puzzling. Yet, this observation suggests, that in the case of the White neighborhood context, racial status is most important in explaining locational attainment, and that White neighborhoods are not the highest form of locational attainment available in metropolitan areas. Although individual SES is consistent in explaining White access to both White and White middle-class neighborhoods, metropolitan factors produce a divergent effect. This study illustrates that more favorable metropolitan conditions explain access into White middle-class neighborhoods but not into White neighborhoods. In fact, for Whites, White neighborhood access is positively correlated with declining manufacturing and service sectors. Furthermore, the metropolitan White high-income population positively affects White access into White middle-class neighborhoods while it negatively affects access into White neighborhoods. These observations make it clear that Whites seek White middle-class neighborhoods when more advantaged metropolitan conditions are presented.

Whites are also more likely to move into White neighborhoods in metropolitan areas that have large total populations as well as large White populations. This is not the case for White access into White middle-class neighborhoods where both the sizes of total population

and the White population are negatively correlated with locational attainment. In spite of this difference, increasing Black-White racial residential segregation supported locational attainment into both White and White middle-class neighborhoods. When interpreted together and in light of integral metropolitan conditions, these overall findings further support the notion that White neighborhoods as a proxy for locational attainment is a weak indicator of neighborhood quality because neighborhood class status is ignored. As a consequence, when White race alone is used as a neighborhood quality indicator for Blacks, it may create problematic interpretations of upward mobility.

Across all neighborhood quality indicators, individual socioeconomic status matters in explaining locational attainment for both Black and White movers in the U.S. Of the three middle-class SES indicators, college education generally had a stronger predictive effect than both household income and professional occupation for locational attainment. It is no surprise that human capital, especially for movers, matters for locational attainment and that as an individual mover exhibits stronger socioeconomic characteristics, their ability to access quality neighborhoods improves. While this study cannot compare the size of individual effects on locational attainment between Black and White movers, it does illustrate that individual effects are consistent in predicting locational attainment for these groups. In other words, Black and White movers are able to translate socioeconomic status into quality neighborhoods. Still, the overall locational attainment outcomes for Blacks and Whites are not equal. The present study provides evidence that the metropolitan structure produce significant locational attainment differences between Black and White movers explaining much of the racial disparity experienced between the races.

Further, an increasing metropolitan Black middle-class population matters for locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods. While Blacks living in metropolitan areas

with larger populations and a larger Black population are not better able to access White neighborhoods, they are better able to access Black middle-class neighborhoods in metropolitan areas that are more populous. In other words, larger metropolitan areas better facilitate Black access to Black middle-class neighborhoods while the size of the Black population does not have a significant effect. Yet, the increasing metropolitan Black college-educated and Black high-income populations are key factors in explaining Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods. This observation suggests that Black middle-class neighborhoods are not a product of a sizeable Black population but a sizeable Black middle-class population. Furthermore, while Black-White racial residential segregation acts as an obstacle in Black access of White neighborhoods, it has no effect in their access of Black middle-class neighborhoods. This observation makes it clear that Black access to Black middle-class neighborhoods is not a product of racial residential segregation supporting the MCM model. And this suggests that Blacks may seek to create Black middle-class neighborhoods instead of being forced to create them. Furthermore, whether metropolitan conditions are used to explain White locational attainment into White compared to White middle-class neighborhoods or are used to understand Black locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, these unique larger macro-contexts across metropolitan areas are important in explaining individual locational attainment for Blacks and Whites.

Generally, the spatial assimilation model cannot explain locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods because this model would not consider this same-race middle-class neighborhood as a proxy for neighborhood quality. Nor does the place-stratification perspective do so as it considers the concentration of Black residents, even if noted to be largely middle-class, as an outcome of racial residential segregation producing its negative byproducts. It might be important to consider that, like findings for Asians and Hispanics who are bypassing White

neighborhoods into alternative quality neighborhoods, comparable locational attainment for Blacks may exist. The minority culture of mobility model provides an essential need to consider Black middle-class neighborhoods as an important neighborhood quality indicator. It also may provide for a better explanation of Black locational attainment into these alternative quality neighborhoods.

VII. FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should continue to explore nuances in White locational attainment of White neighborhoods and White middle-class neighborhoods using alternative definitions of White middle-class. Although, this study offers a conservative definition of middle-class, it was still able to present some nuance across White neighborhood quality indicators. As a result, Black locational attainment should also continue to be challenged as it relates to traditionally used neighborhood indicators. In light of the growing Black middle-class, the ability of Blacks to better select their ideal neighborhood types in the midst of individual- and institutional-racism in the housing market, and the minority culture of mobility model's explanation of the tendency of high socioeconomic Blacks to seek out high quality Black middle-class neighborhoods, alternative Black middle-class neighborhood definitions should continued to be explored. As well, future work should explore the quality of these increasing Black middle-class neighborhoods and the ability of its residents to access resources and avoid the deleterious consequences associated with Black residentially segregated neighborhoods. Finally, the minority culture of mobility model should continue to be tested along side the spatial assimilation model and place-stratification perspective in understanding Black locational attainment in the 21st century.

VIII. DISCLAIMER

"Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Census Bureau. All results have been reviewed to ensure that no confidential information is disclosed."

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CONCLUSION

The conclusion will be organized as follows: a) southern subregional differences, b) southern locational attainment for primary and return migrants, c) confirming and challenging trends in locational attainment, d) locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, and e) future research.

SOUTHERN SUBREGIONAL DIFFERENCES

The dissertation confirms findings from MDC reports (1998; 2011) that the South has faced unequal subregional development in the post-Civil Rights era. Specifically, this study found that Black and White primary migrants locate at greater rates to the South Atlantic states and Texas when compared to the Inner South states. Still, the study shows that Black return migrants have a generally larger presence in the Inner South than the Black primary migrants. However, the size of the return migrant population is consistent across all subregions in the South while the size of the primary migrant population is disproportionately larger in the South Atlantic and Texas. This suggests that Black return migrants are *not more* likely to move to the Inner South, but that Black primary migrants are *less* likely to move there. Frey (2004) finds that Black non-South migrants are college-educated, and thus represent a brain gain for the areas to which they locate. Thus, the Inner South's inability to attract Black primary migrants is missed an opportunity as the South under non-South to South migration.

The South has experienced tremendous Black middle-class growth between 1970 and 2010, and especially so in the South Atlantic and Texas compared to the Inner South. The majority of the top ten metropolitan areas comprising college-educated and high-income Blacks

are located in the South Atlantic States and Texas. This observation provides support for the use of middle-class and Black middle-class neighborhoods as emerging neighborhoods of advantage in the region. While there are no significant differences in the types of neighborhoods experienced by White migrants and White non-migrants, Black migrants live in higher quality neighborhoods than Black non-migrants. Specifically, Blacks are increasingly living in better quality neighborhoods, as measured by proportion White, homeownership, professional, management and technical occupation, median household income and college education. And, while fewer Blacks are living in all-Black neighborhoods over time, Blacks have shown growth in accessing middle-class neighborhoods, both White and Black middle-class neighborhoods. Altogether, these observations suggest that the South is experiencing disproportionate subregional growth while generally the region offers new neighborhood dynamics for Blacks.

Furthermore, this study reveals that Black and White non-South to South migrants are significantly more likely to move to the South Atlantic than to both the Inner South and Texas when controlling for the metropolitan economic context; racial, ethnic and spatial characteristics; and same-race middle-class features. The South Atlantic appears to offer additional benefits to its non-South migrants that future research should continue explore, one of which could be access to a transportation network that leads to the Northeast corridor.

SOUTHERN LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRANTS

This study also found clear differences between Black and White non-South to South migrants. Black primary and return migrants are attracted to metropolitan areas with strong Black college-educated populations. As the South becomes more urbanized and more diverse,

the Black migrant—who is college-educated and younger than retirement-focused migrants—can be active citizen-participants in the South in the long-term. The South's ability to incorporate this growing Black migrant population and benefit from their associated skills and resources will reflect their ability to continue to grow in the 21st century. This relationship reflects a two-way interaction with Black migrants benefiting from growing opportunities in the South and their creating opportunities in the region. Yet, there is no significant relationship between Blacks primary and return migration and Southern metropolitan areas with a strong economic landscape. In contrast, White return migrants are moving to metropolitan areas with a strong PMT industry, and both White primary and return migrants avoid metropolitan areas with a strong manufacturing industry and public sector. As well, White primary and return migrants are locating to Southern metropolitan areas with strong retirement-aged populations, and thus their motivation to migrate to the South may be largely retirement-focused. Unlike Black migrants, White migrants may be more interested in solely taking advantage of existing opportunities in the Southern region as opposed to creating and furthering opportunities for themselves and future populations. These findings strongly suggest that not only are there distinct motivations for Black and White migrants, but also that these migrant groups may benefit from the South and be a benefit to the South in distinct ways.

Black primary and return migrants experience greater locational attainment than the average Black resident in the South. This study reveals that the non-South to South migration is critical in Black locational attainment and is tied to greater locational attainment outcomes. The Black non-South to South migration translates into quality neighborhoods across several key neighborhood indicators measured by percentage White population, median household income, percentage middle-class and same-race middle-class populations. As well, Black primary migrants are more likely to achieve greater locational attainment than Black return migrants.

This suggests that Black primary migrants have distinct advantages over Black return migrants that may largely reflect their pull to the region. In contrast, there does not exist significant differences between White primary migrants and White return migrants in locational attainment into White neighborhoods. However, significant differences do exist between migrant types in locational attainment into both middle-class and White middle-class neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods, in line with what was observed for Black migrants, White primary migrants are more likely to achieve higher locational attainment than White return migrants.

With evidence that Blacks are attracted to Southern metropolitan areas with a strong Black college-educated population, the developing Southern region which includes new housing construction, a growing Black regional population, and an observable Black middle class illustrates that the South most recently may offer Black migrants access to unique spatial compositions that intersect along racial and class lines. The positive aforementioned factors are uniquely pulled together in the South making the region notably important for future studies on Black migration, and Black progress in general. Still, one might argue that Black non-South to South migration is strongly driven by social factors over economic ones. In contrast, Whites are relocating to Southern metropolitan areas because of the burgeoning economic landscape in the region or they avoid metropolitan areas with a declining one. Yet, one must consider that White migrants may take for granted the size of White population, albeit middle class or not, in any Southern MA that they select. Blacks do not have this luxury, and that fact alone may reflect strongly in their decision-making process.

CONFIRMING AND CHALLENGING TRENDS IN LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

In support of the spatial assimilation model, this study found that individual socioeconomic status is positive and significant in explaining locational attainment of Black and

White movers across the U.S. and of Black and White non-South to South migrants. While individual socioeconomic status provides a consistent positive effect for both Black and White movers, it is the metropolitan context that explains any divergent locational attainment effects between these groups. Although for Blacks and Whites, the size of the PMT sector and the size of the same-race high-income population do predict greater access into middle-class neighborhoods, racial residential segregation still prevents Blacks from accessing these neighborhoods. In support of the place-stratification perspective, racial residential segregation continues to act as an obstacle to Black locational attainment, while it supports White locational attainment. This finding confirms previous findings that racial residential segregation has been persistent in inhibiting Black access to quality neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1993; Pais et al 2012; Pais et al 2013), and it continues to be a factor in the explaining the divergent locational attainment effects of Blacks and Whites. Residential segregation appears to be consistent in preventing the locational attainment of Black movers in the U.S. and of Black non-South to South migrants.

When comparing White locational attainment into White neighborhoods and White middle-class neighborhoods, individual socioeconomic resources are important in explaining White access into both neighborhood types. Still, this study finds metropolitan factors produce a divergent effect between White locational attainments into these types of neighborhoods, as Whites seek White middle-class neighborhoods under more favorable metropolitan conditions. Whites are more likely to move into White neighborhoods in metropolitan areas that have large total populations as well as large White populations. This is not the case for White access into White middle-class neighborhoods where both the sizes of the total population and the total White population are negatively correlated with locational attainment. And Whites show no significant effect from racial residential segregation in accessing middle-class or White middle-

class neighborhoods, while segregation supports locational attainment into White neighborhoods. Whites are also more likely to move into White neighborhoods in metropolitan areas with strong manufacturing and service sectors, while they are more likely to move into White middle-class neighborhoods with a strong PMT sector and White high-income population. This study makes clear that there are distinct differences in White locational attainment into White neighborhoods and White middle-class neighborhoods. This finding is important as the majority of locational attainment studies use White neighborhoods as an indicator of neighborhood quality while rarely focusing on the class characteristic of these neighborhoods. The White middle-class neighborhood appears to be a better measure of neighborhood quality compared to the White neighborhood. Using confidential Census data, this study was able to construct a neighborhood quality variable that interacted racial and class characteristics. Future studies should continue to use variables that capture both racial and class characteristics to better proxy for quality integrated neighborhoods including percentage White college-educated population.

LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT INTO BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS

The Black middle-class neighborhood has yet to be used as a variable of neighborhood advantage in the locational attainment literature. Despite the emergence of the Black middle-class in the post-Civil Rights era, alternative indicators of neighborhood quality outside of whiter, affluent and suburban neighborhoods are rarely operationalized. Little is still known about the conditions that may produce access into growing Black middle-class neighborhoods in the U.S. and in the South. And when considering locational attainment into Black middle-class neighborhoods, neither the spatial assimilation model nor the place stratification perspective explains Black access into these specialized areas. The spatial assimilation model does not account for Black selection of Black middle-class neighborhoods as an option of upward

mobility nor does the place stratification perspective consider a Black middle-class neighborhood as a neighborhood of advantage as opposed to a byproduct of racial residential segregation. The minority culture of mobility (MCM) model theorizes that in response to individual and institutional racism, Blacks will seek out same-race middle-class neighborhoods to support their upward mobility (Neckerman 1999).

In line with locational attainment into White and middle-class neighborhoods, this study finds that individual socioeconomic status explains Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods, while metropolitan conditions explain differentials in locational attainment. The size of the metropolitan Black middle-class population shows a greater effect in explaining Black access to Black middle class neighborhoods compared to both White and middle-class neighborhoods. In other words, Blacks move into Black middle-class neighborhoods as the size of the Black middle-class increases in a metropolitan area. Furthermore, racial residential segregation does not impact Black access to Black middle class neighborhoods while it affects their access into White and middle-class neighborhoods. This observation makes it clear that Black access to Black middle-class neighborhoods is not a product of racial residential segregation supporting the MCM model. This finding is consistent for both Black non-South to South migrants and for Black movers across the U.S. It suggests that Blacks may seek access to Black middle-class neighborhoods when available to circumvent challenges of individual- and institutional-racism. It may also support the notion that Blacks are able to achieve upward mobility outside of mainstream neighborhoods similar to other ethnic groups.

The presence of White middle-class populations has a different effect for Whites. The presence of the White high-income population is positively related to White locational attainment into White middle-class neighborhoods. And, the presence of the White college-educated population is generally negatively related to White locational attainment in White

middle-class neighborhoods. In stark contrast, the presence of the White college-educated population is positively related, while the presence of the White high-income population is negatively related to White locational attainment into White neighborhoods. This provides additional support that advantageous metropolitan conditions are more closely aligned with accessing White middle class neighborhoods compared to White neighborhoods.

FUTURE RESEARCH

While this research considers locational attainment between non-South migrants and residents in the South, this research does not consider locational attainment differences between non-South migrants and those residents who do not leave the non-South. Future research should investigate the locational attainment of these different populations to better understand if non-South to South migration is a better predictor of locational attainment compared to within non-South moves.

As it relates to middle-class neighborhoods, future research should consider the differences found between locational attainment into White compared to middle-class neighborhoods, and find ways to interact race and class characteristics to better describe quality neighborhoods. My study uses a conservative definition of middle-class to measure these quality neighborhoods. Future research might both consider using stricter definitions of middle-class while also exploring the quality of Black middle-class neighborhoods compared to White middle-class neighborhoods. The question that arises from this research is whether Black middle-class neighborhoods are comparable to White middle-class neighborhoods, and what explains differences found between the two neighborhood types? Specifically, how do the quality of amenities, services, and resources differ between these two middle-class neighborhood types?

This study shows support for the minority culture of mobility model by demonstrating that there is positive relationship between Blacks' access to Black middle-class neighborhoods with metropolitan areas with a strong Black middle-class presence. The MCM model asserts that Blacks seek access to Black middle-class neighborhoods in response to individual and institutional racism. Future research should continue to test the motivations that drive Black access into Black middle-class neighborhoods. For instance, the Community Population Survey (CPS) data offers the "Why Move?" variable which can be used to better understand differences in motivations to move between Black middle-class and non-middle-class movers. The MCM model also suggests that Blacks will choose Black middle-class neighborhoods over other quality neighborhood types. Although this research provides support for Black middle-class neighborhoods as neighborhoods of advantage, future research should explore Black middle-class neighborhood selection, and whether Blacks choose this neighborhood over other quality neighborhood types?

APPENDIX TABLE 1 – RANDOM EFFECT REGRESSION HLM MODEL PREDICTING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT NON-SOUTH TO SOUTH MOVERS INTO WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS BY RACE, 1970-2010

	WHITES				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Long Distance (Return=0; Primary=1)	0.0167***	-0.00148	-0.0011	0.0000603	-0.00853
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Sex	0.0278***	0.0173***	0.0199***	-0.0138***	-0.0177**
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Marital Status	0.129***	0.159***	0.169***	0.184***	0.127***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age	0.120***	0.265***	0.360***	0.316***	0.120***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Age^2	-0.0852***	-0.204***	-0.269***	-0.199***	-0.00684
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
High School	0.0818***	0.0696***	0.126***	0.0957***	0.0666**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
Some College	0.125***	0.0994***	0.154***	0.112***	0.0738**
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
College Education+	0.171***	0.155***	0.239***	0.201***	0.153***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.0155***	0.0196***	0.0259***	0.0767***	0.0846***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0243***	0.0302***	0.0398***	0.0619***	0.00796
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
PMT Occupation	0.0696***	0.0482***	0.0368***	0.00267	-0.00753
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Service Occupation	-0.0157	-0.0235**	-0.0408***	-0.0497***	-0.0460*
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Military Occupation	0.0364***	-0.234***	-0.243***	-0.190***	-0.0443
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.05
Public Sector Occupation	-0.0340***	-0.0224***	-0.0771***	-0.0547***	0.0215
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02
SUBREGIONAL VARIABLES					
Inner South (South Atlantic=base)	0.0147	0.0923***	-0.0173	0.00338	0.07
	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06
Texas (South Atlantic=base)	-0.0841	-0.150***	-0.100**	-0.013	-0.0077
	0.07	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.09
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.111***	0.0657**	0.0340*	0.123***	0.0723
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.06
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.0205	0.0815***	0.0463***	0.0894***	0.0348
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04
New Housing (<10years)	0.143**	-0.022	-0.0428***	-0.0568***	-0.00542
	0.07	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.03
Pct Homeownership	0.115**	-0.0430**	-0.0253**	-0.0746***	-0.0168
	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.06
Pct Military Sector	0.0277	0.0423**	-0.0214*	-0.0566***	-0.0213
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Manufacturing Sector	-0.0162	0.0432**	0.0330**	0.0574***	0.0066
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04
Pct Public Sector	-0.0775***	-0.0461**	0.0152	0.0976***	-0.0185

	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
Pct PMT Sector	0.027	0.202***	0.139***	0.118***	-0.0456
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.07
Pct Service Sector	0.0668***	0.0196	-0.00358	-0.0116	0.0657**
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.03
Pct Unemployment	-0.157***	0.0662**	0.0386***	0.133***	0.0101
	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.04
Pct Poverty	0.0349*	-0.0984***	0.00295	-0.0372**	-0.0308
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	0.0806***	0.121***	0.131***	0.0785***	0.0349
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
Diversity Index	-0.147***	0.150***	-0.0419*	0.0257	-0.0381
	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.05
Pct Wht Population	0.172***	0.427***	0.361***	0.570***	0.529***
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.09
Pct Asian Population	0.187	-0.458***	-0.652***	-0.343***	-0.0794
	0.23	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.13
Pct Hispanic Population	-0.0568***	-0.328***	-0.0938***	-0.0445**	-0.0789*
	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.05
Pct Wht College Educ Population	-0.0554***	-0.108***	-0.0689**	-0.135***	0.0125
	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.07
Pct Wht High Income Population (>50k)	0.0163	-0.0475	0.0757*	0.0819*	0.0779
	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.07
Constant	-0.129	-0.289***	-0.326***	-0.156***	-0.192***
	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.07
Observations	116000	102000	334000	275000	16000
Number of MAs	109	147	148	148	136
r2 - Overall	0.113	0.324	0.234	0.278	0.288
r2 - Between MAs	0.798	0.912	0.895	0.93	0.872
r2 - Within MAs	0.029	0.0371	0.0609	0.0602	0.04
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

	BLACKS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Long Distance (Return=0; Primary=1)	0.114***	0.0779***	0.0669***	0.0309***	0.0653***
	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Sex	0.0365***	0.0177*	0.0149***	0.0118***	0.0138
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Marital Status	0.182***	0.277***	0.204***	0.195***	0.120***
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
Age	-0.051	-0.0595	-0.014	0.0795***	0.0896
	0.08	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.11
Age^2	0.0423	0.0589	0.0408	-0.0448	-0.0227
	0.08	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.12
High School	-0.0425	0.0682***	0.109***	0.0756***	0.1
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.06
Some College	-0.00691	0.125***	0.182***	0.157***	0.222***
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.06
College Education+	0.0807	0.300***	0.339***	0.340***	0.395***
	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.07
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.0699***	0.0595***	0.0188***	0.115***	0.140***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0183	0.0875***	0.0967***	0.104***	-0.00786

	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.07
PMT Occupation	0.0903**	0.124***	0.0967***	0.116***	0.00599
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.04
Service Occupation	-0.00939	-0.0465*	-0.000844	0.014	0.0104
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.05
Military Occupation	0.661***	0.312***	0.156***	0.153***	-0.02
	0.07	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.11
Public Sector Occupation	0.0793**	-0.00176	0.00903	-0.0361***	0.0333
	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05
SUBREGIONAL VARIABLES					
Inner South (South Atlantic=base)	-0.0728	-0.133***	-0.0645*	-0.182***	-0.0201
	0.09	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.07
Texas (South Atlantic=base)	0.127	-0.272***	-0.209***	-0.278***	-0.0485
	0.15	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.10
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	-0.231***	-0.0967**	-0.132***	-0.129***	0.186***
	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.07
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.0304	-0.00894	-0.0364***	-0.015	0.0838**
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04
New Housing (<10years)	0.0593	0.0219	0.0321**	-0.0168	0.0365
	0.14	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04
Pct Homeownership	0.00684	0.0592	-0.0867***	-0.0695***	-0.0266
	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.06
Pct Military Sector	-0.0589	0.0109	0.0470***	0.0293	0.0185
	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Pct Manufacturing Sector	-0.012	-0.0607**	-0.0280*	-0.0105	0.0918**
	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.05
Pct Public Sector	0.131**	-0.0721*	-0.129***	-0.106***	0.0278
	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.06
Pct PMT Sector	-0.0228	0.043	0.0316	0.0524*	0.110*
	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.06
Pct Service Sector	-0.146***	-0.0601**	-0.0135	-0.0214	-0.0385
	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04
Pct Unemployment	0.00999	0.042	-0.0239	0.0738***	-0.0735
	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.05
Pct Poverty	-0.000267	0.0366	0.0399***	0.0588**	0.0489
	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.05
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.0565**	-0.168***	-0.0898***	-0.119***	-0.159***
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.05
Diversity Index	-0.083	-0.156***	-0.0466**	0.0511*	-0.145***
	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.05
Pct Blk Population	-0.125**	-0.174***	-0.309***	-0.464***	-0.186***
	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.05
Pct Asian Population	-0.228	0.410***	-0.256***	-0.236***	-0.239**
	0.29	0.12	0.06	0.07	0.12
Pct Hispanic Population	0.0037	-0.184*	-0.0585**	-0.331***	-0.177***
	0.03	0.10	0.02	0.03	0.05
Pct Blk College Educ Population	-0.0450*	-0.0195	-0.0157	0.0351	-0.143***
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.04
Pct Blk High Income Population (>50k)	-0.0187	-0.0296	0.0783**	0.0276	0.0549
	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.07
Constant	-0.0359	0.335***	0.254***	0.272***	0.172**
	0.15	0.09	0.04	0.05	0.08
Observations	6000	10000	40000	41000	2000

Number of MAs	105	143	148	148	120
r2 - Overall	0.207	0.2	0.186	0.193	0.238
r2 - Between MAs	0.629	0.625	0.808	0.854	0.643
r2 - Within MAs	0.119	0.107	0.107	0.104	0.0812
Standard errors beneath coefficients *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010					

APPENDIX TABLE 2 – RANDOM EFFECT REGRESSION HLM MODEL PREDICTING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF BLACK AND WHITE MOVERS INTO MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS, 1970-2010

	BLACKS				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Sex	-0.00073	-0.0149***	-0.0190***	0.0281***	0.0132***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marital Status	0.209***	0.226***	0.227***	0.229***	0.170***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age	0.0948***	-0.0162	-0.0504***	-0.0389***	-0.157***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Age^2	-0.0790***	0.0207*	0.0627***	0.0586***	0.151***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
High School	0.168***	0.200***	0.198***	0.188***	0.166***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Some College	0.334***	0.332***	0.379***	0.382***	0.326***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
College Education+	0.504***	0.575***	0.607***	0.668***	0.565***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.189***	0.249***	0.0989***	0.187***	0.213***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing Occupation	0.0602***	0.105***	0.0813***	0.0925***	0.0772***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
PMT Occupation	0.203***	0.240***	0.236***	0.195***	0.175***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Service Occupation	0.0511***	0.0696***	0.0676***	0.0380***	0.0269***
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Military Occupation	0.306***	0.202***	0.257***	0.238***	0.239***
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04
Public Sector Occupation	0.0446***	0.00348	0.00752***	-0.00540**	0.0324***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
REGIONAL VARIABLES					
Northeast	0.156***	0.00553	-0.0869***	-0.320***	-0.207***
	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.04
Midwest	0.246***	-0.051	0.0304	-0.0276	-0.0346
	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04
West	0.349***	0.0564	0.0753**	-0.327***	0.0357
	0.07	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.05
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.0193	0.101***	0.0639***	-0.0185**	0.0278
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.0286**	-0.0223**	-0.0562***	-0.0518***	-0.0118
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
New Housing (<10years)	0.0024	0.0234**	-0.0279***	0.0791***	0.0299*
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Homeownership	-0.00948	0.246***	0.0872***	0.120***	0.0132
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Military Sector	-0.0486**	0.0837***	-0.105***	-0.122***	-0.0445***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.179***	0.116***	0.0268***	-0.0390***	-0.0380***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01

Pct Public Sector	0.0938***	-0.0326	0.191***	0.249***	0.0840***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct PMT Sector	0.115***	0.148***	0.202***	0.0584***	0.106***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Service Sector	-0.113***	0.0876***	0.00556	-0.0419***	0.0121
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Unemployment	0.0399***	0.00785	0.0157*	0.0330***	0.000325
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Poverty	-0.126***	-0.0951***	-0.126***	-0.143***	-0.0993***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.0974***	-0.0876***	-0.0486***	-0.0607***	-0.0976***
	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Diversity Index	0.0126	-0.0143	-0.00693	0.0101	-0.0439**
	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Black Population	0.00864	0.0138	-0.0416***	-0.119***	-0.027
	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Asian Population	-0.00117	0.0112	0.0283***	0.0612***	0.0394***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Hispanic Population	0.0328***	0.245***	0.00371	0.0720***	0.018
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct Black College Educated Population	0.0146***	0.0399***	-0.0162***	0.0172***	0.0434***
	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Black High Income Population (>$50k)	0.000287	0.0415***	0.0947***	0.0428***	0.0589***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Constant	-0.406***	-0.320***	-0.364***	-0.387***	-0.378***
	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Observations	356,000	265,000	709,000	901,000	79,000
Number of MAs	256	339	362	362	313
r2 - Overall	0.264	0.23	0.322	0.248	0.256
r2 - Between MAs	0.691	0.62	0.768	0.733	0.76
r2 - Within MAs	0.141	0.139	0.166	0.183	0.142
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

	WHITES				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES					
Sex	0.0281***	0.0180***	0.00657***	0.000997***	0.00478***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marital Status	0.241***	0.180***	0.102***	0.181***	0.153***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age	0.0913***	0.119***	0.00314	0.0683***	-0.157***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Age^2	-0.0415***	-0.0933***	0.0464***	-0.0502***	0.181***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
High School	0.323***	0.265***	0.252***	0.217***	0.257***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Some College	0.489***	0.415***	0.426***	0.370***	0.401***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
College Education+	0.615***	0.593***	0.625***	0.591***	0.626***

	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
HH Income (2010 dollars)	0.116***	0.0364***	0.0381***	0.166***	0.165***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing Occupation	-0.0299***	-0.0163***	-0.0223***	-0.00458***	0.00877*
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
PMT Occupation	0.212***	0.175***	0.211***	0.156***	0.156***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Service Occupation	-0.00679***	-0.0106***	0.0262***	-0.000329	0.0145***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Military Occupation	0.0472***	-0.0436***	0.226***	0.0571***	0.171***
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Public Sector Occupation	-0.0537***	-0.0845***	-0.0866***	-0.0639***	-0.0268***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
REGIONAL VARIABLES					
Northeast	-0.0319***	-0.103***	-0.00794	-0.0633***	-0.0192
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Midwest	-0.0372***	-0.0141	-0.0626***	-0.0394***	-0.0663***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
West	0.184***	0.0522	0.160***	0.0184	0.0563**
	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
METROPOLITAN VARIABLES					
Total Metropolitan Population (Logged)	0.203***	0.0188***	0.0744***	0.00740**	-0.00328
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Percent Age 65+ years	-0.0852***	-0.139***	-0.216***	-0.128***	0.0240**
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
New Housing (<10years)	0.185***	-0.0360***	-0.135***	-0.0551***	0.0334***
	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Homeownership	0.231***	0.0298***	-0.0238***	0.102***	0.0354***
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Military Sector	-0.0824***	0.0520***	-0.0322***	0.0114***	0.00127
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Manufacturing Sector	0.0530***	0.0381***	0.0443***	0.0429***	0.0075
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Public Sector	0.0819***	-0.0429***	0.0153***	0.0153***	0.0101
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct PMT Sector	0.113***	0.231***	0.316***	0.261***	0.148***
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Pct Service Sector	0.0722***	-0.00316	-0.0341***	0.0443***	0.0367***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Unemployment	-0.0589***	-0.0125**	-0.0247***	0.0359***	-0.0114
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Pct Poverty	-0.142***	-0.158***	-0.134***	-0.153***	0.0151
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Black-White Dissimilarity Index	-0.0283***	0.105***	0.0787***	0.0419***	0.00805
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Diversity Index	0.101***	-0.0775***	0.0244*	-0.0107	0.0734***
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct White Population	0.0420***	-0.114***	-0.0681***	-0.129***	0.126***

	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03
Pct Asian Population	-0.00563	-0.0555***	-0.145***	-0.0141**	0.00907
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pct Hispanic Population	-0.0117*	0.0441***	-0.0181***	0.0613***	0.0206
	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
Pct White College Educated Population	-0.103***	-0.0223*	-0.169***	0.0204**	0.0382**
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Pct White High Income Population (>$50k)	0.126***	0.100***	0.169***	-0.00758	0.333***
	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Constant	-0.475***	-0.452***	-0.465***	-0.499***	-0.611***
	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Observations	2,899,000	2,191,000	6,183,000	5,924,000	383,000
Number of MAs	265	360	362	362	318
r2 - Overall	0.29	0.267	0.302	0.301	0.301
r2 - Between MAs	0.762	0.699	0.71	0.799	0.95
r2 - Within MAs	0.158	0.0973	0.12	0.142	0.118
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					
Source: Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and ACS 2006-2010.					